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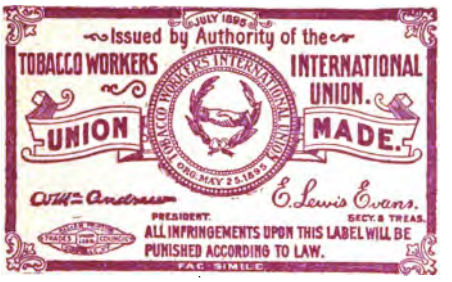
VOL. 20 JANUARY, 1916 No. 1

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

THE TOBACCO WORKER



OFFICIAL MAGAZINE

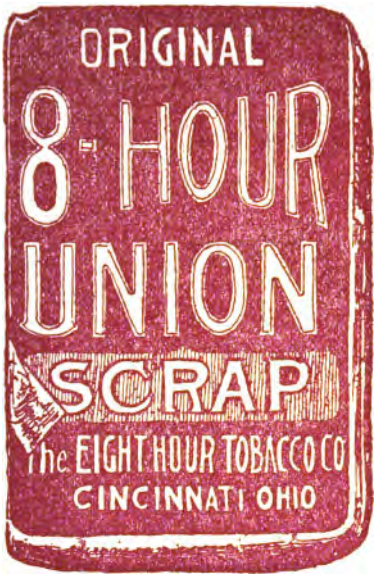
OF THE

Tobacco Workers' International Union

Rooms 50-1-2-3 Iroquois Life Building

LOUISVILLE, KY.

JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY, LOUISVILLE, KY.



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Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 January, 1916 No. 1

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REPORT OF DELEGATE

To the Eighth General Convention of the Union Label Trades Department, A. F. of L.

The eighth general convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was called to order by First Vice-President J. W. Hayes, in the absence of President John Tobin, who was unable to attend the convention in the Civic Auditorium at San Francisco at 10:00 a. m. Thursday, Nov. 4, 1915.

Addresses of welcome were delivered by President D. C. Murphy, of the San Francisco Labor Council, and Secretary John A. O'Connell, also of the San Francisco Labor Council. The President of the label section of the Council, W. G. Desepte, and E. Guth, Secretary, also addressed the convention. In each instance the delegates were extended a cordial welcome to visit both Councils during their stay in that city, as well as other points of interest, which invitations were accepted.

In briefly responding to the addresses of welcome, acting President J. W. Hayes assured the visitors that their remarks were interesting and instructive and that the convention would undoubtedly take into consideration some of the suggestions offered by the speakers for the best interests of the Department, and also voiced the sentiments of the delegates by accepting the invitations extended. He then declared the convention opened.

The Committee on Credentials made the following report: Seventy-three delegates, representing thirty-three International unions and one credential as fraternal delegate, and recommended that the same be seated. The chair then appointed the various committees and the convention was ready to resume work.

In the report of President John Tobin some of the most interesting excerpts were the inconsistency of Trades Unionists towards their obligations in neglect of the purchasing of union label products, and how the unfair and unscrupulous dealer takes advantage of the consumer by advancing the sale of non-union products through subterfuges.

It will not be necessary to present the proceedings from day to day, but will give a general synopsis of the work taken up and disposed of by the convention during the three days' session.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the year closed showed an income in the amount of $12,270, a very creditable showing, owing to the business depression during the past year, making an average of $1,000 per month, and an expense account of $14,494.88, or an average of $1,208 per month. The expense therefore exceeding the income may be accounted for by the unusual efforts that have been put forth by the Department to place in prominence the union labels, shop cards and buttons by those organizations affiliated with the Department, and in addition, the general work that apathy places in the movement that their influence and knowledge of the union label may show them their purchasing power means high wages and shorter working hours for those who manufacture products bearing

the union label. In the Secretary-Treasurer's report, which shows where districts in which demands for the union label is common, those districts are systematically exploited by the manufacturer for the purpose of breaking down the force of unionism, and greater efforts should be made in these sections to counteract the effects of the campaign against the union label.

The Resolution Committee, in reporting to the convention, presented some very interesting resolutions, which were the cause of extended debate. The following resolution was introduced by your delegate and concurred in unanimously by the convention:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity and the value of union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products, and the good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor and the friends of the union label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the union label do not enjoy the demand that union labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement. The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within 50 per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove. With the ever-growing membership of the American labor movement these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the label when exchanging good union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore be it

Resolved, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the union label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; be it further

Resolved, That we will refrain from and urge others not to patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

A resolution of vital importance was introduced and signed by a number of delegates who are directly or indirectly interested in the Prohibition wave extending over this country at the present time. A discussion lasting some three or more hours followed the resolution submitted against the propaganda of the Prohibitionists in prohibiting the use and sale of alcoholic beverages in this country and demanding justice for the thousands of men and women employed directly or indirectly in the various industries depending on the manufacture and sale of malt and vinous products. The resolution was adopted.

A strong resolution was also presented by the Amalgamated Sheet and Metal Workers International Alliance which was adopted, calling attention of the men of organized labor and their wives to such utensils in the culinary lines that bear the union label and stating that there should be a better demand for such products.

The Butcher Workmen also called attention to the fact that some organized crafts were opposing the efforts of the butchers to force Sunday closing, and the Union Label Department endorsed the stand taken by the Butcher Workmen.

Attention was also called to the fact, by the delegates from the Metal Polishers, that the Quaker Oats Company were unfair to their organization by purchasing their entire aluminum from the Buckeye Aluminum Company, of Worcester, an unfair firm to the Metal Polishers, and the delegates requested that notice be taken of the fact.

On motion introduced by delegates from the Sheet Metal Workers, which was adopted, it was decided to have a union label exhibit of labels of the different crafts at each succeeding convention.

Only one amendment to the Constitu-

tion was presented and adopted, namely, increasing the salary of Secretary and Treasurer from $2,400 to $3,000 per annum.

The coming conventions of the Union Label Department will recess until after the convention of the A. F. of L. adjourns so that if any resolutions of importance which may be referred to the Department may be adopted the President and Secretary, if deemed necessary, may reconvene the convention again to dispose of any matters referred to it by the A. F. of L. Convention.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Eighth Annual Convention of the Label Department of the A. F. of L. will be productive of much good for the various labels, shop cards and buttons and for organized labor in general. A campaign has been mapped out that will call to the attention of every worker his duty towards the success of organized labor.

Every local union should at least devote ten minutes of each meeting night to the discussion of this most important problem which would tend to educate the rank and file to demand union label products when purchasing necessities of life, and would above all show that the unscrupulous manufacturer, who employs and uses the unorganized worker and his children, fears the demand for the union label product more than anything else.

To the membership of the Tobacco Workers a special request is made by the Department to continue your good work in educating the unorganized, as well as the organized, to the value of the union label and the fact that through the union label the workers are benefited by shorter hours, higher wages, sanitary conditions and a brighter fireside.

In the election of officers for the ensuing term your faithful servant was elected Third Vice-President of the Department and the following officers were elected:

President, John W. Hayes, Int'l Typographical Union; First Vice-President, Jacob Fischer, Journeymen Barbers' Union; Second Vice-President, T. R. Rickert, United Garment Workers' Union; Third Vice-President, A. McAndrew, Tobacco Workers' Int'l Union; Fourth Vice-President, Matthew Woll, Photo-Engravers' Union; Fifth Vice-President, Jos. Proebstle, United Brewery Workmen's Union. Thomas F. Tracy was re-elected as Secretary-Treasurer.

No further business appearing, the convention adjourned and will meet next year in Baltimore, Md., prior to the convention of the A. F. of L.

Respectfully submitted,

A. McANDREW, Delegate.

REPORT OF DELEGATE

To the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

To Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—As per custom, I herewith submit a report in part of the proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco, Cal.

The convention was called to order at 10 a. m. at the California Building, on the Exposition grounds, by Mr. Daniel Murphy President of the Labor Council of San Francisco.

The invocation was offered by Archbishop Edward J. Hanna.

Chairman Murphy introduced Mr. C. C. Moore, President of the Board of Directors of the Exposition, who made the first address of welcome, in which he paid high tribute to the assistance the Labor Movement had been in making the Exposition the success it had attained.

Mr. Moore's address welcomed the delegates in the most hospitable and cordial manner. He stated it had been his pleasure to welcome a very large number of conventions during the life of the Exposition, but none had given him more pleasure than the convention of the American Federation of Labor. At the conclusion of his address he presented President Gompers with a medal, accompanying the presentation with the statement that it was not the intrinsic value of the medal, but the token was

a symbol of the good feeling and warm appreciation of labor's part in the great Exposition. At the conclusion of Mr. Moore's address President Gompers made an address which was appreciated by all in attendance.

Addresses of welcome were also made by Governor Johnson and Mayor Rolph for the State and City Governments, and by the chief officials of California's Labor Movement, at the conclusion of which President Gompers made another address of acceptance.

Delegate Moser, chairman of the Committee on Credentials, submitted a report stating that the committee had examined and given favorable action to 329 delegates representing 85 International and National Unions, 24 State Branches, 63 Central Bodies, 21 Federal Labor Unions and 7 fraternal delegates, at the conclusion of which report President Gompers announced a piece of news that brought a smile of satisfaction to every delegate, which was that the Anti-Labor amendments to the constitution of New York State had been defeated by half a million votes.

Vice-President Duncan submitted an abstract of the report of the Executive Council. The convention then adjourned its session in the exposition grounds to convene in Eagle's Hall Tuesday morning.

On convening Tuesday morning, President Gompers announced the appointment of the various committees, your delegate being appointed on the adjustment committee as well as being on the Auditing and Credential committees.

The following is a summary of the subjects treated in the Executive Council's report, which was referred to the various committees appointed.

"Introduction"—Committee on Education

All references to finances—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"International Peace and War"—Committee on International Relations.

"International Federation of Trades Unions"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Protection of American Citizens' Rights"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Pan-American Labor Relations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"A. F. of L. Exhibit"—Committee on Education.

"City Central Bodies—State Federation of Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Organization of Women Wage-Earners"—Committee on Organization.

"History of the A. F. of L. Departments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Affiliation of International Trade Unions"—Committee on Organization.

"Labor Forward Movement"—Committee on Organization.

"A. F. of L. Organizers"—Committee on Organization.

"Shorter Workday"—Committee on Shorter Workday.

"Labor Day"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Colorado Mine Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Hatters' Case"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Detective Agencies and Pseudo Employment Offices"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Dick Military Law, Report on"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"New Legal Opinion of Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Panama Canal Rules and Regulations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Report on Legislative Progress"—Committee on Resolutions

"Anti-Trust and Injunction Limitation Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Seamen's Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Public versus Private Construction of Naval and Other Vessels"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Bureau of Labor Safety"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Employers' Liability — Workmen's

Compensation for Injuries"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Political Liberty of Civil Service Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Eight-Hour Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Model Anti-Trust Injunction Limitation Law for State Use"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Child Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Piece Work — Taylor System — In Government Service"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Immigration"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Amendment to Hours of Service Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Minimum Wages for Federal Employes"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Industrial Education—Vocational Training"—Committee on Education.

"Prevention of Accidents Among Longshoremen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Prohibit New York Boat Owners from Compelling Captains' Families to live on Boats and Barges"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Government Ownership of Mount Vernon and Monticello"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Old Age Pensions for Government Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Popular Government"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Amendment to Postal Savings Bank Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Citizenship for Porto Ricans"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unemployment and Vagrancy Laws"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Welfare Amendments to State Constitutions" — Committee on State Organizations.

"Municipal Housing"—Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

"Denatured Alcohol"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Manufacture of Stamped Envelopes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Suffrage in the District of Columbia"—Committee on Education.

"Teamsters in Post Office Employ"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Locomotive Inspectors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bureau of Mines"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Safety Appliances and Regulations"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Impeachments"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Agricultural Credit Legislation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Post Office Clerks—Night Work—Salaries, etc."—Committee on Resolutions.

"Summary of Legislative Measures of Interest to Labor which Failed to Pass During the Last Session of Congress"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Mothers' Day"—Committee on Education.

"A. F. of L. Office Building"—Committee on A. F. of L. Office Building.

"Registration of Titles and Labels"—Committee on Labels.

"Journeymen Taylors' Union"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters - Brewery Workers" — Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Cigarmakers - Stogiemakers" — Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Carpenters-Sheet Metal Workers-Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters and the Building Trades"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Chicago Building Trades Council Appeal"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Tunnel and Subway Constructors-Compressed Air Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Blacksmiths-Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Proposed Amalgamation of Western Federation of Miners and Tunnel and Subway Constructors"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Proposed Miners' Amalgamation

Continued on page 10

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

NO SUCH ANIMAL.

This is the term or language used by the editor of the *Tobacco Leaf* in a reply to an inquiry made by a jobbing house in Providence, R. I., asking for the names of one or two manufacturers who make union labeled cigarettes.

The term "no such animal" must have been considered a charming title to be given by one of the leading tobacco trade papers in the United States. If this term, title or designation is intended to characterize the union factories that make cigarettes, we think the *Tobacco Leaf* has another think coming.

Our official dealings with the union cigarette manufacturers has not led us to the thought that we were dealing with anything but men of brains—business men who have large interests at stake, requiring much grey matter to keep the business of making union labeled cigarettes afloat and make a profit. If the *Tobacco Leaf* has felt that their business intercourse with the union-made cigarette manufacturers has been such as to suggest the characterization they give, we venture the assertion that the *Tobacco Leaf* is the responsible party. It is well known that the *Leaf* has been the able champion of the Tobacco Trust interests. It perhaps may be presumed that the advertising columns were well compensated for its championship. We think, however, that the *Leaf* could have found a more applicable characterization than the one used, even though they may have wished to pour vinegar into the union-made cigarette manufacturer's milk pail.

If the *Tobacco Leaf* has reached a point where mud slinging is to be a part of the game it will find that it is not holy enough to prevent some of the mud from sticking to it.

The above comment is suggested by the appearance of the following in one of the December issues of the *Tobacco Leaf*.

NO SUCH ANIMAL.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Dec. 18.

Editor of Tobacco Leaf:

Can you give us the names of one or two manufacturers of union-made cigarettes.

Very truly yours,
HUNTOON & GRAHAM CO.,
362 Carpenter St.

Reply:

If your inquiry refers to paper cigarettes, would say that have no information as to any union in that branch of the trade.

OFFICIAL NOTICES.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Jan. 17, 1916.

To Officers and Members:

GREETING—At our meeting held January 10th to 15th, we took up the ques-

tion of the Hatters' case, wherein the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was against the Hatters, compelling them to pay a judgment for damages amounting to nearly $300,000 and for non-payment of which they all will lose their savings and homes. The process of eviction is now being put in force, their savings having already been seized as part payment on the judgment, and for the balance their homes are now being sold.

The American Federation of Labor Convention in San Francisco gave lengthy consideration to this very serious question. Many suggestions were made as a means of giving our help to the Hatters in their dire distress. The final decision was that our great movement could best express its sympathy in a practical and helpful way by giving the wages received on the second hour of the 27th DAY OF JANUARY, 1916, this money to be collected and used for the express purpose of saving the homes of the Hatters. Many of them are now beyond the age where they can again earn a livelihood, and the only thing that awaits them is the poorhouse. They need our help, and let us cheerfully give it, helping them as we may hope to receive help at a time when we may most need it.

Having given full consideration to this serious condition of our brother and sister workers in the Hatters trade, we give full indorsement to the plan adopted at the A. F. of L. Convention. recommend it to our members and earnestly urge every member to donate the wage earned during the second hour of the 27th DAY OF JANUARY, 1916.

We recommend that the money be paid to the Financial Secretary, who in turn will forward it to the International Office, where a receipt for the amount will be returned to the Financial Secretary and the amount forwarded to the Secretary of the A. F. of L., where it will in turn be used to save the homes of the Hatters, who are so sorely in need.

We recommend, where it is possible, that the local union advance an amount equal to the earnings for the hour above mentioned and collect the amount from the member. We also recommend that a notice be posted in the various departments of the factories so that every member may know of the good deed to be done. "Charity," you know, "covereth a multitude of sins."

Put yourself in your Brother Hatters' place and remember that he now needs your help.

Urging every member to cheerfully give in this hour of need, we are,

Fraternally yours,

A. MCANDREW, *Pres't*
E. LEWIS EVANS, *Sec'y-Treas.*
W. R. WALDEN, *1st Vice-Pres't.*
JOHN RUCKERT, *2nd Vice-Pres-t.*
CHAS. P. ALDER, *3rd Vice-Pres't.*
ABRAM SHEINES, *4th Vice-Pres't.*
A. J. TURNER, *5th Vice-Pres't.*
ROBT. H. FOX, *6th Vice Pres't.*
International Executive Board.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Jan. 14, 1916.

To the Members At Large of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

GREETING—The International Executive Board has levied a 25c International Assessment to take effect the 22nd day of January, 1916, and payable on or before February 26, 1916.

This assessment is to be placed in the General Expense Fund to be used for Label Agitation and organization purposes.

Members At Large will forward same to the International Office as soon after this notice is received as possible, and not later than the above mentioned date, February 26, 1916.

By order of the International Executive Board. Fraternally yours,

A. MCANDREW,
International President.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Jan. 14, 1916.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—The International Execu-

tive Board has levied a 25c International Assessment to take effect the 22nd day of January, 1916, and collectible on or before the 26th day of February, 1916.

The two-thirds (⅔) of this assessment going to the General Expense Fund is to be forwarded to the International Office along with the other collection. The one-third (⅓) goes to the Fund of the Local Unions.

Secretaries of Local Unions will collect the assessment at once.

The one-third (⅓) of this assessment, which the Local Union receives, should be used for the agitation of our Label and for organization purposes.

By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,
A. McANDREW,
International President.

REPORT OF DELEGATE.

Continued from page 7

Failed"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Flint Glass Workers and Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Carpenters"— Committee on Adjustment.

"Machinists-Elevator Constructors"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Plumbers and Steamfitters-Machinists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Brewery Workers-Coopers"— Committee on Adjustment.

"Teamsters-Brewers-Bakers - Laundry Workers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Engineers and Longshoremen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Steam Shovelmen-Steam Engineers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Lithographers - Lithographic Pressfeeders - Printing Pressmen - Photo-Engravers - Poster Artists"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Jurisdiction Over Single Wrapping"—Committee on Adjustment.

"International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers-Seceding Local Unions"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Bridge and Structural Iron Workers-Boilermakers-Hodcarriers"— Committee on Adjustment.

"Dock Builders of New York City"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Painters-Carmen"— Committee on Adjustment.

"Carpenters-Railway Carmen"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers-Blacksmiths - Upholsterers - Machinists - Metal polishers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Electrical Workers-Theatrical Stage Employes"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Upholsterers and Carpet Mechanics"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Application of Retail Clerks for Change of Title"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Metal Lathers-Plasterers"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Amalgamation of Glass Workers with the Brotherhood of Painters"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Longshoremen - Marine Warehousemen"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"United Hebrew Trades"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Capmakers-Hatters and Straw Hat Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers and Slate Workers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Marble Workers"— Committee on Building Trades.

"The Coopers and Barrel-Stave Industry—Resolution No. 80"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"The Holt Manufacturing Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Detroit Cigar and Tobacco Trust"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Resolutions 79, 92, 154 and 161 (Abraham S. Cox Stove Company, Victor Talking Machine Co., U. S. Broom and Brush Co.)"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Ward Baking Company"—Committee on Boycotts.

"Telegraph Companies"—Committee on Organization.

"L. S. Starrett Tool Manufacturing Co."—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Firemen-Engineers"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"American Federationist"—Committee on Education.

"American Federation of Labor News-Letter"—Committee on Education.

"Labor Press"—Committee on Education.

"Organization of Teachers"—Committee on Organization.

"Educational Activities"—Committee on Organization.

"Democratization of Schools"—Committee on Education.

"Report of United States Commission on Industrial Relations"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Board of Mediation and Conciliation"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Unfinished Business"—Committee on Report of Executive Council.

"Conclusion"—Committee on Education.

In addition there were 164 resolutions presented, representing grievances, subjects for good of the order, amendments to law, changes in policy, etc. These were referred to the proper committees upon presentation.

The following resolution was presented by your delegate and was adopted:

WHEREAS, Experience has fully demonstrated the necessity for, and the value of, union labels to lend discriminating power in favor of union made products; and

WHEREAS, The good results to come from the use of the union label must come from the patronage bestowed by labor, and the friends of the union label; and

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that products bearing the union label do not enjoy the demand that union labeled products have a right to expect from the members of our great movement, and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has a blue label which now is placed on hundreds of brands of tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best quality produced, and is as well advertised proportionately as any other label in this country; and

WHEREAS, The patronage given to union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes is not within fifty per cent. of that which it should be, which reliable statistics will prove; and

WHEREAS, With the ever-growing membership of the American Federation of Labor, these conditions could be greatly changed for the better by remembering the label when exchanging good union-earned money for tobacco, cigarettes or snuff; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we as delegates will ourselves do our duty and we will as far as lies in our power urge others to patronize only such tobacco products as do bear the union label, and we will endeavor wherever possible to induce dealers in tobacco products to put in full lines of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes; and be it further

Resolved, That we will refrain from and urge others to not patronize places of business who persistently refuse to keep in stock an assorted line of union labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes.

The law committee brought in an amendment to the constitution, which was adopted, which raised the per capita tax three- fourths of a cent.

Fraternal Delegates Amon and Bevin represented the British Trades and Labor Congress, each making stirring addresses portraying the conditions of Labor in Great Britain and the struggle now going on in defense of Labor's interest during the terrible European strike. The addresses were listened to with closest attention by the delegates and the galleries full of visitors.

Fraternal Delegate Bancroft, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, made a very lengthy address in which he presented Labor's conditions now existing in that country while the recruiting sergeants are on the streets endeavoring to induce enlistment for their army to go to Europe and enter the great conflict now staged in all its ugliest forms.

With all this the labor movement in Canada is making progress in defense of Labor's interest.

In the Executive Council's report the Hatters case was given a lengthy discussion, reviewing the financial and per-

sonal assistance rendered by the American Federation of Labor, stating further that the A. F. of L. could not assume the payment of the damages assessed by the trial court. This question was referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report, as was also Resolution No. 104, presented by the Hatters' delegate, which is as follows:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States enacted certain legislation known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was intended to apply to combinations of capital and not to labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law is also applicable to labor organizations, as shown in their decision in the Danbury Hatters' case; and

WHEREAS, Under this decision the bank accounts of 186 members of the United Hatters of North America—the savings of a life time—have already been taken from them, and within the next two months their homes will also be taken away, although they were never charged with any crime other than that they belonged to a labor organization, nor was it intimated that they participated in any strike or lockout; on the contrary, it was openly stated in court by Mr. Lowe and the attorneys for the Anti-Boycott Society that the selection of the defendants was based on ownership of property and not on conduct from which the plaintiffs claimed to have suffered injury; and

WHEREAS, The National Association of Manufacturers, through the Anti-Boycott society, was determined to get the courts to apply the Sherman Anti-Trust Law to the organizations of labor, and the fight made against the members of the United Hatters of America was not against the hatters alone, but against all organizations of labor; and

WHEREAS, The decision of the Supreme Court against the members of the United Hatters was largely instrumental in securing the passage of the Clayton bill, which prevents such suits in the future, and is of inestimable value to organized labor; therefore be it

Resolved, That this Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledges its support to the 186 defendants whose savings of a lifetime are about to be taken away from them, thereby leaving them homeless and penniless, and make provisions to raise sufficient funds by assessment or otherwise as will indemnify the defendants for the loss of their homes and savings.

The committee after due consideration of the case before them brought in the following report, which after a very lengthy discussion was adopted:

While your committee is in hearty sympathy and full accord with the spirit of the resolution offered in this case, it does not believe that conditions at this time are such as to warrant asking this convention, nor does it believe this convention has the power, to take the extraordinary step of levying an assessment through its affiliated bodies on the membership of the American labor movement. In lieu of such an assessment your committee would recommend that this convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council to send out a notice and appeal to all affiliated International and National unions, and through them to their local unions, and to the State, county and city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions, apprising them of the present predicament of these Hatters at Danbury, Connecticut, and urging upon each member of organized labor who is employed on the 27th day of January, 1916, that he donate his earnings of one hour to a fund for the relief of the Hatters who are being despoiled of their property by the American Anti-Boycott Association, and in order that this donation may be made at a uniform hour your committee would suggest that for daylight workers the hour between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, and for night workers the hour between nine and ten o'clock at night on the day designated by the Executive Council be set apart as the hour to be donated for the purpose herein set forth.

It does seem to be a curious thing, but it is a fact nevertheless, that some of us

must suffer in this world so that good may come to themselves and others. For many years the struggle has been against the Court's construction "that the labor of the workers was a commodity," and was subject to the provisions of the Anti-Trust laws.

Out of this great battle lasting for eleven years in the Hatters' case comes to us the Clayton law, which disqualifies this construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust law. So our entire movement will be benefitted. Though the Hatters were at the time the chief sufferers, their loss has been compensated by a great gain for us all. With this in view it is now up to us all to turn in and help those who have suffered so severely.

The report of the work of the Committee on Industrial Relations was lengthy and full of most interesting facts, proven by the investigation that had been made by the Commission.

Owing to the unusual pressure of business before the convention it was necessary, in the hope of finishing within the usual time, to hold two night sessions. However, after remaining in session until early Sunday morning it was then found necessary to recess until Monday morning.

The election of officers resulted in the election of President Gompers, Vice-Presidents, James Duncan, James O'Connell, D. A. Hayes, Joseph Valentine, John R. Alpine, H. B. Perham, Frank Duffy and Wm. Green. Treasurer Lennon and Secretary Morrison were also elected by a unanimous vote.

After a spirited contest Baltimore was chosen as the place for holding the 1916 convention.

The convention did not finish its business until late Monday night, November 22.

Respectfully submitted,
E. Lewis Evans, Delegate.

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Continued from December issue

As to Directors.

"Moreover, raising wages is traditionally unpopular among stockholders and directors, and recommendations for better conditions, particularly if they involve new capital, are frowned upon. Neither the stockholders nor the directors have to live on wages or work in the existing surroundings, and profits deferred are considered profits lost.

"The workers, therefore, deny the potency of even good intentions on the part of managers, and point to the history which they allege shows that at best only isolated cases can be pointed out where marked improvements have taken place except in response to repeated demands from the workers, or to forestall the growth of threatened organization. They point also to such facts as that children of twelve years or younger were not only kept in the factories (as they still are in some States where there has been little aggressive agitation), but almost without exception they were insisted upon by the employers as a necessity."

Organization Required.

"The evidence of this character, which is summarized elsewhere, seems to be conclusive of the necessity for organization and representation under modern business conditions. But even if it were not necessary, it is difficult to see any reason why what is demanded and required by stockholders should be denied to workers. It would be as illogical for stockholders individually to attempt to deal with the representatives of the unions as it is for the individual worker to attempt to deal with executive officials, representing the organized stockholders."

Conclusions and recommendations relating to living and working conditions of labor are stated as follows:

Wages.

"As a result of the investigations which have been made, the following conclusions are justified:

"1. The welfare of the State demands that the useful labor of every able-bodied workman should as a minimum be compensated by sufficient income to support in comfort himself, a wife, and at least three minor children, and in addition to provide for sickness, old age, and dis-

ability. Under no other conditions can a strong, contented and efficient citizenship be developed.

"2. Under existing conditions such an income is not received by fully one-half of the wage-earners employed in industry.

"3. The natural resources of the United States are such that an industrial population properly educated and efficiently organized can produce enough to achieve this standard of living.

"4. It is probable that even at present the national agricultural and industrial output is sufficient to permit the establishment of such a standard.

"5. The problem is therefore essentially one of distribution.

"6. The fixing of the wages of adult workmen by legal enactment is not practicable nor desirable as a general policy, except for public employes.

"7. A just standard of wages in any industry or occupation can best be reached by collective bargaining between employers and employees for the purpose of forming voluntary joint agreements. The success and justice of such joint agreements is, however, dependent upon the essential equality of the two parties and cannot be attained unless effective organization exists.

"It is suggested that the Commission make the following recommendations:

"1. In order that the public may be kept fully informed with regard to labor conditions, and that a proper basis of facts should exist for negotiation and arbitration, the Federal Government should enact the necessary legislation to provide for the collection, through the Bureau of Labor Statistics or otherwise, of the full and exact facts regarding wages, hours of labor, and extent of unemployment for every industry. Every employer should be required by law to file with the proper authority a sworn statement of these facts according to a prescribed form. These statistics should be published annually, and the full data regarding any industry or plant should be accessible to any mediator or any other responsible citizen.

"2. Uniform statutes should be passed by the legislatures of all States requiring that wages be paid at least semi-monthly and in cash, except where by joint agreement other methods are agreed upon."

HOURS OF LABOR.

"As a result of investigation the following conclusions are justified:

"1. The physical well-being, mental development and recreational needs of every class of population demand that under normal circumstances the working day should not exceed eight hours.

"2. A very large percentage of the workmen in manufactures, transportation and mining work more than eight hours per day.

"3. This is in marked contrast to the condition of those whose economic position enables them to define the length of their own working days.

"4. Practical experience has shown that the reduction of working hours is in the interest not only of the worker and the community generally, but of the employer.

"5. The regulation by legal enactment of working hours of adult workmen is not generally practicable nor desirable, except for public employees.

"It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

"1. That in the so-called continuous occupations, other than the movement of trains, requiring work during both the day and the night for six or seven days per week, the State and Federal Governments should directly intervene, so that the working hours should not exceed eight per day nor extend to more than six days per week."

SAFETY AND SANITATION.

"The investigations which have been made warrant the following conclusions:

"1. Great progress has been made during recent years in promoting safety and sanitation in manufacturing, mining and transportation.

"2. The progress has been most rapid in the direction of safeguarding workers from industrial accidents.

"3. Progress in safety has been in part the result of continued agitation and education, but has proceeded most rapidly and satisfactorily since the enactment of workmen's compensation laws which

render unsafe working conditions expensive to the employer.

"4. The movement has also been largely promoted by the formation of safety committees composed of officials and workmen, and by the creation of joint conferences of employers and employees to assist and advise State officials in the administration of the law and in the formulation of safety rules.

"5. The campaign for safety needs, however, to be greatly extended as rapidly as possible. The annual list of accidents, approximately 35,000 fatalities and 700,000 injuries involving disability of over four weeks, cannot be regarded complacently. From one-third to one-half of these accidents have been estimated by competent authorities to be preventable by proper safeguards, inspection, and control.

"6. The advance in the sanitation of work-shops has been less rapid, because not only are the dangers less obvious, but there is no financial liability for diseases or deaths occurring as the result of improper sanitation. Future progress in sanitation demands attention not only to cleanliness and ventilation, but to occupational diseases.

"7. The most direct incentive for the promotion of sanitation would be the adoption of a proper system of sickness insurance.

"It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

"1. The creation of a bureau of industrial safety (except that the section providing a museum of safety is not endorsed). Proper steps should be taken to provide for the co-ordination of the work of all Federal bureaus whose work is concerned with industrial safety.

"2. The appropriations of the Public Health Service for the investigation and proportion of industrial sanitation should be increased."

HOUSING.

"It has been found in the course of the Commission's investigations:

"1. The present provisions for the housing of workmen are generally bad, not only in the large cities, but in industrial communities of every size and in rural districts.

"2. Not only are the houses and tenements which are available for workers largely insanitary and unfit for habitation, but they are inadequate, resulting in high rents, overcrowding and congestion.

"3. Such conditions make not only for discomfort and unhappiness, but for disease and degeneration.

"4. The ordinary method of supplying houses through their erection by private capitalists for investment and speculation has rarely, if ever, been adequate.

"5. Excellent plans for the housing of workmen have been put into effect by a number of firms and corporations, but such measures have not at all affected the general situation, and, being dependent upon the volition of individuals, cannot be regarded as likely to greatly influence progress.

"6. The tenant-house acts, as well as the health ordinances and building regulations of municipalities, while generally productive of good effects, are at best surface remedies and can never cure the evils of the present housing situation.

"7. In every important European country government aid and direct intervention to curb speculation have proved to be necessary for the promotion of any real progress.

"8. Governmental action in Europe has chiefly taken the following forms:

"a. Extension of credit to voluntary non-profit-making associations.

"b. Construction by the Government of buildings which are leased for long periods on easy terms.

"c. Exemption from taxation and other subsidies for homes constructed for occupancy by their owners.

"d. Legislation designed to prevent the holding of land out of use and to secure for the Government a part of the 'unearned increment.'

"It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

"1. The Federal and State Governments should institute investigations directed not so much to ascertaining existing housing conditions, as to formulating constructive methods by which direct support and encouragement to the promotion of improved housing can be

given. Actual experiment in the promotion of housing should proceed as rapidly as proper plans can be drafted.

"2. Special attention should be given to taxation, in order that land should as far as possible be forced into use and the burden of taxation be removed from home-owners.

"3. The municipalities should be relieved from all State restrictions which now prevent them from undertaking the operation of adequate housing schemes and from engaging in other necessary municipal enterprises."

[*To be continued in next issue.*]

PERHAPS!

When cows fall ill the government proceeds to take alarm
And sends a veterinarian to sanitate the farm.
The cow herself is put to bed and plied with drugs and pills,
And Uncle Sam comes forward, when she's cured, to pay the bills.
But when a baby falls in need of medicine and care,
The government contends that that is none of its affair.
When pigs and lambs are threatened with a deadly pestilence
Their tender lives are guarded at the government's expense.
They're coddled, nursed and dieted until they're well and fat,
And never reckon of the cost—for Uncle Sam pays that.
But when an epidemic marks the babies for its own,
The government, untroubled, lets them fight it out alone.
Some day, perhaps, when all the pork has lavishly been passed,
When every scrap of patronage is handed out at last,
When all our noble congressmen have got all they desire,
And have attained whatever heights to which they may aspire—
To unknown heights of common sense the government will leap,
And do as much for mothers as it does for cows and sheep.

—*Chicago Examiner.*

If you do not believe in a good investment do not join a labor organization.

Sweden has smelted iron for more than twenty centuries, and some of the ancient furnaces are still in existence.

It goes a great way toward making a man faithful to let him know that you think him so.—Seneca.

If capital could find as safe investments as a man has that joins a labor organization they would invest their last cent.

He does much who does what he has to do well. He does well who serves the common good rather than his own will. —Thomas A. Kempis.

From what a man thinks he knows, subtract what his neighbors think he knows, and the remainder will probably be about what he really does know.

The blessings of an active mind when it is in good condition is, that it not only employs itself but is almost sure to be the means of giving wholesome employment to others.—G. R. Derzhavin.

No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper classes of society. Each and all came from the protest of the martyr and the victim. The emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working people themselves.

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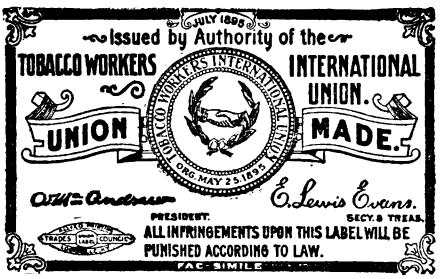

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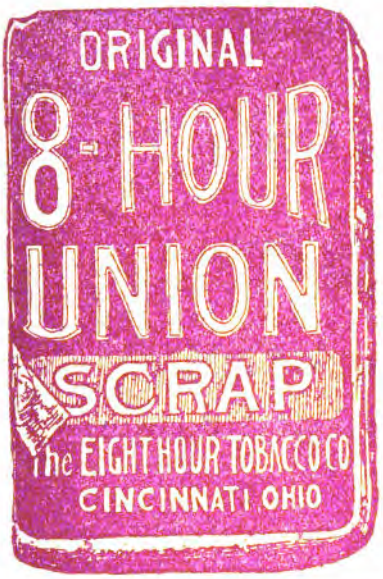

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REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT.

In submitting my report, and there is no doubt it will be a lengthy one, I would ask the indulgence of the members of the organization for my tardiness, owing to the fact that my last report was published in the June issue of THE TOBACCO WORKER in 1915.

Since that time the agitation for the Tobacco Workers' label and other union labeled products has been continuous, as the propaganda I generally carry out is the preaching of the gospel of consistency to the consumer in his purchasing power, whereby the power that he possesses gives him the opportunity to give employment to the men and women in the union label industry.

After I had finished my work in Newburg I was called to New York City to adjust a difference that existed between one of the factories in Brooklyn and the Paper Cigarette Makers of Nos. 83, 98 and 100. The trouble existing was that the manufacturer intended to adopt a new line of work which was not specified in our agreement, and naturally a contention arose between the members of the Local and the manufarcturer as to the price and the work to be accomplished by the men. Brothers Sheines, Matlin and Tigel were appointed on the committee to accompany me to take up the matter with the manufacturer. After a conference of three hours and a half the controversy was adjusted amicably to the satisfaction of both parties, and through the meeting of the two parties concerned, I feel positive that a better feeling will exist.

From New York I proceeded to Louisville to take up some of the routine work of the office, which had accumulated during my absence and addressed the Amalgamated Asociation of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' convention who were in session in the City of Louisville. Our old friend, John Williams, presided, and he assured me that there would not be any limit to the time that I desired in addressing the convention. As usual my subject was "Union Labels," and after extending the fraternal greetings of the Union Label Department and the Tobacco Workers' International Union my address was a lengthy one. Many questions were propounded to me from the delegates in reference to different brands of tobacco and other commodities that had the Union Label attached. I distributed mirrors and literature among the delegates, and introduced resolutions indorsing the Tobacco Workers' Label, which was adopted by the convention. I felt positive that the delegates on returning to their homes would give a good account of themselves in demanding Union Labeled products, and advised them while in the city of Louisville to make themselves at home at the International office. Brother John Williams responded to my address and assured me that the sentiments expressed by me were carried home to the delegates.

My next stop was Buffalo, N. Y., to attend the Boot and Shoe Workers' convention. There were from 300 to 325 delegates in this convention, representing the Boot and Shoe industry, from all parts of the United States and Canada. Brother John Tobin presided, and he is recognized as one of the best parliamentarians in the labor movement, and it is needless to say that the work of the

convention was carried out in a most efficient manner. Brother Charles Baine, Secretary-Treasurer of that International Union, one of the big men of the labor movement, was equal to the task of taking the minutes of this large body of men and women. Many resolutions were intorduced to better the conditions in the shoe industry. A resolution indorsing the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union was adopted unanimously. I also addressed the convention and called their attention to the fact that they also had a stamp for which they demanded support, and emphasized the fact that it was their duty to fulfill their obligations as trade unionists in demanding labels of other products. I distributed booklets and mirrors, and while in the city I addressed the Central Bodies Street Carmen's Union and other local organizations. There is a good demand for union labeled tobacco in the city of Buffalo and all characters of tobacco can be found on the shelves of the retailers. I found that quite a number of union labeled cigarettes were also sold in that city, namely, the "Afternoon," "Forenoon," "Fifth Avenue" and "Lotus," manufactured by members of Nos. 83, 98 and 100, and succeeded in placing some of those goods in the central parts of the city. Mr. Henry Striefler, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, organized a large mill in Blaisdell, a suburb about twenty miles outside of the city limits, and immediately after the formation of the organization they were locked out. A committee called on us requesting us to address a large meeting of this new organization, and we readily consented. In speaking before this large body of men, and not knowing anything of the labor movement until they were organized, naturally they knew little or nothing of the union label. When I had finished my address the members came to me individually and said that in the future the dealers in that small village would be forced to handle nothing but union labeled tobacco if they were to cater to the trade of the people employed in that mill. I am delighted to say that the men had won out in every contention they demanded and are now one of the best local unions in the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Sheet Workers' Organization. Mr. Matt Woll, President of the Photo Engravers, who represented the Union Label Trades Department of the A. F. of L., made a splendid address before the convention in behalf of the Department and gave to the delegates some interesting facts on law pertaining to the copywriting of labels, stamps, shop cards and buttons.

I received a telegram from the office to proceed to Scranton, Pa., where trouble had been existing for some time between one branch of the industry in the manufacture of tobacco. It appears that this concern wanted to modernize that branch by putting in new machinery which ultimately meant the displacing of some twenty girls in that department. After having attended the meeting of the local union, a committee was appointed to accompany me and see if I could adjust the grievance. I informed Mr. Dale, the manager, that as an organization, we could not stop progress or prevent him from introducing new inventions that would cheapen the cost of the manufacture of tobacco, but we demanded the right to construct a wage for our members who were to operate such machines. He informed me at that time that the machine would not be ready for possibly two or three months later. I informed him then that under such conditions that the girls were justified in asking for an increase of 15 cents per hundred pounds until that time. After discussing the matter pro and con he consented to grant the increase until such time as the machines were installed. The report made by the committee to the local union was accepted unanimously, and that trouble was settled for the time being.

Being very close to Wilkes-Barre, I called on the members of No. 59, and while there had the opportunity of addressing the members in regard to a proposition that Mr. Weigand, the manager, was proposing to them at that time. It appeared that some of the girls through their environments were able to dress better than some of the others while at work, and he suggested furnishing them with aprons and caps. It appeared that he had suggested the same proposition some time previous and the

girls had rejected it, making the claim that they did not want to be uniformed; but after taking the matter under consideration they came to the conclusion afterwards and informed the manager that if he found union labeled aprons and caps they might be willing to don those uniforms. I called their attention to the fact that it would be no expense to them, and as it had been necessary for them to buy their own working clothes this naturally would mean less expense to them. The proposition was accepted and in the future it will not be necessary for the girls to buy their own working clothes. About the same time the wage scale proposition was before the local organization, and they were asking a reduction of hours from fifty to forty-four hours per week at the same rate of wages as paid for the fifty hour week. The manager informed us that he would place the matter before the directors of the company. He suggested, however, that such a proposition could not be accepted unless under a five year agreement with the local union. I was opposed to such a long agreement, but the membership of the local deemed it advisable that if the concessions were granted that they would be willing to accept the five year agreement. A few days later the agreement was signed by the committee of the local union and the Penn Tobacco Company. I might say in connection with this concern that it is one of the most up-to-date modern tobacco factories in the United States—everything fitted up for the comfort and convenience of the employes, each girl and man having a locker for themselves and separate dressing rooms for both sexes, and in addition to that, separate dining room for the men, perfect sanitary conditions, and a high rate of wages and short hours.

Sometime later I received a letter from Mr. Dale, of the Clark & Snover Tobacco Co., of Scranton, in which he informed me that the stripping machine was ready for operation, and in making an average of the wages that would be paid to the girls who were working on piece work assured me that he would give the operators what he considered fair wages for operating the machine. In answering his communication I called his attention to our previous conference through our agreement with him for the use of the union label, and advised him that we also had the right to say what wages the operators should receive, and I insisted upon a $2.50 increase per week over the wages which he proposed to give to the operators, and in replying to my letter he informed me that he would comply with my request and grant the increase.

From Scranton I proceeded to Atlantic City, at the request of Mr. Thomas Tracy, to represent the Union Label Trades Department at the Potters' convention, who were holding their sessions in that city. I addressed the convention for a considerable length of time on the subject of Union Labels, laying particular stress on the Tobacco Workers' label. I also distributed mirrors, booklets and other literature, and addressed several local unions during my stay in the city. I found a great deal of union labeled tobacco on the shelves of the dealers in this popular resort. Among the delegates I renewed the acquaintance of many, from different parts of the country, who had on previous occasions displayed a great deal of energy for union labeled tobacco and other union labeled products. A resolution indorsing the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' organization was adopted.

From Atlantic City I proceeded to Louisville to take up the routine work of the office before the arrival of the members of our Executive Board, who were to hold their meeting about the 12th of July. It is not necessary to dwell on the work that was accomplished at the Executive Board meeting, as each local union received copies of the same, but a question was brought up before the Board by Brother Alder, our Third Vice-President, in reference to the delinquency of some of our members employed in the Bagley Tobacco Company and requested me to go to Detroit and settle this matter up. Immediately after the Board meeting I started for Detroit, and Local Union No. 13 assigned Brother Alder to assist me in my work. After working diligently for four or five days we succeeded in getting the accounts of all the members in that factory straightened out,

which meant an increase revenue for the International Union and Local No. 13.

From Detroit I proceeded to Boston to take up a matter with a manufacturer who had retired from business and who had some of our labels on hand. I received the labels that were on hand and returned them to the office and settled the matter up with satisfaction to myself.

On my return I stopped at New York City and visited the Advisory Board of Local Unions Nos. 83, 98 and 100, and was requested to represent them at the New York State Federation of Labor, who would convene in Buffalo during that month. The credentials were presented to the Credential Committee and I was accepted as a delegate representing the New York locals, and was appointed on the Committee on Labels. Many interesting events which will long be remembered took place at that convention. The memorial exercises to the memory of that "Old Warhorse" of the labor movement, Daniel Harris were eulogized by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor; George Perkins, President of the Cigarmakers, and officers of the State Federation of Labor, and other men who had been in harness with the work of Brother Harris for the uplift of the toilers of the Empire State. Reminiscences were told by Mr. Gompers of Brother Harris' early life and his devotion to the cause of organized labor which brought tears to the eyes of the many who were assembled. I introduced resolutions for the Tobacco Workers' label, which were adopted by the convention, and in addition to that was requested by President Holland to address the convention on that particular question. Mr. E. E. Richards, of No. 24 of Albany, N. Y., was also a delegate to this convention, and during the session made many friends for the Tobacco Workers' organization through his genial ways and witty sayings. He also assisted me in distributing mirrors and booklets and in tacking up large signs in the labor halls throughout the city of Buffalo.

From Buffalo I was requested by Local No. 48 to go to Hamilton, Ontario, and take up a matter which was causing trouble in organized labor in Canada. It appeared that the Tuckett Tobacco Company had adopted a sort of retrenchment in endeavoring to decrease the expenses of the cost of the manufacture of their tobaccos by removing the label from their products. Consensus of opinion of the labor movement of Canada was that the Tuckett Tobacco Company was not recognized as a union factory in the provinces. I held a meeting with the officers of the local union and received the details of what had recently transpired, and was urged to endeavor to get a conference with Mr. Whitton, who was the manager of that concern. I succeeded in doing so a few days later, and much to my surprise Mr. Whitton was at variance with my opinions. He complained of the costs of adding the union label to his products, which he said was quite an item of expense, and by using the large label on the box he thought it would answer the same purpose. I called his attention to the fact that we were agitating and educating the rank and file of organized labor to see that the label was on every purchase they made. He called my attention to the fact that union men in Canada were not as consistent as they should be by demanding union labeled tobaccos, so he had taken this means to see if the union label had anything to do with the sale of his products. I advised him that were it not for the union label the Tuckett Tobacco Company, as well as other large independent factories in the United States, would have been forced out of business long ago by the unfair competition of the American and British tobacco companies. After a conference of several hours we could not come to any final conclusions, as Mr. Whitton emphasized the fact that he would continue to employ those methods until such time as he was assured that it would be an injury to his business. I feel positive in saying that ere this he has realized his mistake, and it will only be a matter of a short time until he again returns to the old methods of putting a label on each package.

While in Canada I called on the officers of Local No. 63, of Toronto, where all our members are employed by the McAlpine Tobacco Company, and urged upon them to take a more active

part in the Central Body of that city; as they were an integral part of the labor movement in that city and stockholders in the Labor Temple they should use their time and energy in assisting the organized labor movement to better the conditions of the toilers in that province.

From there I proceeded to New Haven, Conn., to represent the Union Label Department and the Tobacco Workers' International Union before the Connecticut State Federation of Labor. As usual the Connecticut State Federation of Labor opened their sessions on Labor Day with a parade, and the following day the real work of the convention was taken up. This parade was the largest ever held by organized labor in the State of Connecticut. The United Hatters of North America, coming from Danbury, Bethel and Norwalk, made a splendid showing, both in numbers and their fine stately appearance, and were admired all along the line of march, and other organizations who had been recently organized on account of the epidemic of organization that was taking place at that time throughout the State of Connecticut, were also cheered all along the line of march. I addressed the convention a few days later on Union Labels, and distributed literature and union labeled tobaccos kindly donated by the Bagley Tobacco Co., among the delegates. I also introduced resolutions on the Tobacco Workers' label, which were adopted by the convention. A number of A. F. of L. organizers also addressed the convention; among them were James E. Roach and Mary Scully, as well as Brother Clark of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and Brother Alden, President of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, who was acting as a fraternal delegate to that convention, and others. This convention was one of the largest ever held by the Connecticut State branch.

From New Haven I proceeded to Boston and addressed the Mule Spinners, who were holding a convention in that city, on the subject of the Union Label and the duty of the rank and file towards their fellow members, who were endeavoring to better their conditions in the labor trades.

The convention of the Amalgamated Association of Electric Street Railway Carmen convening in the city of Rochester, N. Y., the week of September 12, I was instructed by Mr. Tracy to represent the Union Label Trades Department at that convention. The attendance at this meeting numbered about 375 delegates from all parts of the United States and Canada. Our old friend and advisor, President Wm. Mahon, presided. I mingled with the delegates for several days previous to the appointed time of addressing the convention, and knowing a great many of the boys personally, I received quite a reception. After conveying the fraternal greetings of the Label Department and the Tobacco Workers' International Union to the delegates, I took as my subject "Union Labels and What the Products of Union Labels Stand For"—high wages, sanitary conditions and shorter hours. I addressed the convention for at least an hour on the subject, and at the conclusion of my address Brother Mahon spoke very feelingly of what the Tobacco Workers' International Union had done for the Amalgamated during their strike in the city of Louisville some years previous, and how closely associated the Amalgamated and the Tobacco Workers had been for many years, and the friendly and fraternal spirit that had existed between the officers of the Amalgamated and the Tobacco Workers during that period, and urged upon the men on their return home to take a more active interest in the purchasing of union label goods than what they had done in the past. Brother Stickley, of the Cigarmakers, also addressed the convention in behalf of his organization, and several other officers of International unions. A great many questions of importance came before the convention pertaining to the interests of the Street Carmen's organization, particularly looking toward legislation in the different States that would better the conditions of the workers. Brother Koveleski, of the Bartenders' International League of America and Vice-President of the New York State Federation of Labor, did himself proud

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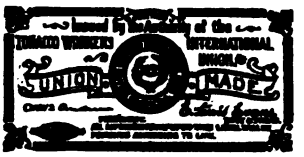

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

We are just in receipt of notice the death of Daniel Wallace, popularly and affectionately known throughout the Eastern States as "Blue Label Dan."

For some years he was a member of the International Executive Board. Of later years he has been in the employ of the Bagley Tobacco Company, of Detroit, as label advertising agent. He spent most of his time in the Eastern States, and was a familiar figure at the meetings of all the local unions in his territory; he missed none and met many. Many of his hearers will remember his short and pointed talks to them on the subject of patronizing union labeled products, especially union labeled tobaccos and cigarettes. He could and did severely arraign delinquents when they came under his observation, but all liked him all the more for having been told of their faults and failings.

Peace be to his ashes now that his earthly trials are over. We will long remember him under his sobriquet, "Blue Label Dan."

After a tempestuous voyage across the Congressional sea and having weathered the strong South winds, the "Keating-Owen bill" (child labor) made the harbor safely and by a good voice. It must now travel the rough sea of the Senate, there being many sand bars and some charted and uncharted shoals to be steered clear of in this last voyage. Let us hope this humanitarian piece of legislation is now nearing the safe harbor where the children of to-day and to-morrow may not have their innocent blood woven into the fabrics of the mills in the very near future.

The injury that has been done to the past, present and future generations by this barbarous and inhuman practice is not possible of estimation.

Let us pray that our long cherished hopes and years of labor may soon be rewarded by a child labor preventative that will make the future generations look backward with a prayer of thanks for the unceasing effort to give the child a freedom that is its due, and release it from a thralldom that stunted its growth mentally and physically, miseries that followed in after life.

The predatory interests has gotten a bad scare in the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis for the Supreme Bench, and are hunting the country over for voices who can and will rail against confirmation of the appointment. If ever a man's character, acts, thoughts and intentions, pretended or actual, were raked far and aft, those of Brandeis are now being raked; even the fine tooth comb has been requisitioned.

Had he been a man who was with the interests in their seeking and abuse of privileges, disregarding the rights of the people, he would have been confirmed long ago and would now be wearing the robes and in the councils of that most

august branch of our Government; but since he is a man after the hearts of the lowly he must go through the searching fires of adverse investigation. If plain justice is done his confirmation is assured.

It is not impossible that those representing vested interests may in their anxiety try to smudge the character of Brandeis that they may let drop at an unguarded moment some information that may be useful in other investigations that Uncle Sam has on foot. Such things have happened before.

The shorter work-day is now getting the greatest publicity it has had for many years. For years efforts have been made by the American Federation of Labor to spread the shorter-day doctrine. Sporadic attempts have been made by several trades to establish it, but comparatively few International unions have succeeded. The methods of establishing have differed according to the prevailing school of thought. Owing to the slowness of the most natural and permanent way, which has for its basis the education of the worker, which is necessarily slow, some schools of thought have advocated the idea of establishing it through statutory provision in the State, and in a few places have succeeded, and in these few instances there is a strong and growing sentiment against the statutory provision as a method of securing the eight-hour day. It has been found after the machinery of the law was put into operation, something was missing, and also that something objectionable was injected. In the something missing case, it was found by the advocates that they somewhat resembled a scouting party detached from the main army with orders to locate the enemy's position. They galloped off in high spirits; they found the enemy all right; but the worst of it was that the enemy also found them. Those who survived the capture found that they could not get back to their natural base, and the enemy was not disposed to hold the same point of view on the question at issue.

It is no use trying to establish a permanent base too far in advance of the main body of the main army. The main body is a slow moving instrument, as it carries with it the supplies for maintenance and is therefore the strength, the bulwark of the movement. Scouts are by nature impetuous, being an unencumbered and a mobile body and are out of tune with the main body and its slow steady march. But, as has been the case in war, the scouts are often captured by the enemy and their work counts for naught, and in fact may have to be done over again by the main army when it comes up. The only benefit from the sacrifice is the information gathered from the few straggling scouts who escaped capture and who returned in a very sad plight.

The most successful way of securing our much sought after short day is to stay with the main army, expend the energies of the impetuous, in educating the slower going and arousing the latent spirits, by example and patience, for the proper and assuredly coming day for the crowning of the object sought.

To force a faster pace than the great majority can conceive as appropriately necessary, is to invite disaster. The support of the main army must always be at hand if permanent success is attained.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT.

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as the manager of the Entertainment Committee, and deserved the thanks of the delegates of the convention for the able and efficient manner in which he conducted all their entertainments. I distributed cards, booklets and literature to the delegates, and in addition, had a resolution introduced endorsing the Tobacco Workers' label, which was adopted unanimously by the delegates of the convention. While in the city I addressed several meetings of the local unions, and called on members of Local No. 23 and urged them to be more active in the labor movement in that city, as it was by those means that they would create a greater demand for union labeled tobaccos, and particularly for the brands of the R. W. Whalen Tobacco Company in that vicinity. Among the delegates were

several of the organizers of other unions, namely, Resin Orr, Treasurer, whom I assisted in the street car strike of Cincinnati; W. Fitzgerald, Colgan, P. Shea and many others too numerous to mention, who are loyal friends of the Tobacco Workers' organization and who do their share in boosting our label. I regretted very much to leave the convention before it adjourned, but was compelled to do so, owing to the business at the office that demanded my attention.

My next stop was at the office in Louisville to take up some work which required my attention for a few days.

I then left for Detroit in answer to a call from the local union to take up a matter with the tobacco manufacturers of that city in reference to what could be done in regards to the inroads the Lorillard Tobacco Company, one of the branches of the American Tobacco Company, were making, and who were at that time giving drop shipments and other inducements to the dealers to push their non-union scrap tobacco, "Beechnut." I informed Mr. Dillon in a conference that owing to the depletion of the General Fund it was impossible for the International Union to bear the expense of any agitators in the field for that purpose, but we would do all we possibly could by correspondence to local unions throughout the district where this company was making special efforts. In talking the matter up before Local Union No. 13, they decided that they would assume the expense of sending out three men themselves in those districts where the trusts were making inroads, and assigned Brothers John Carney, Chas. Alder and Charles Evans to this work. In covering those districts later I found that the good work accomplished by these men has brought good results, and the non-union brand is now again on the decline. I wish to congratulate the officers and members of No. 13 for the splendid work that they have done in the past in the agitation of the union label and their loyalty to the International Union in assuming the expense of this agitation.

Together with Brother Carney, Recording Secretary of No. 13, we left Detroit for Mansfield, Ohio, to attend the Ohio State Federation of Labor, where I was to represent the Union Label Trades Department. This was a very large convention, numbering some 350 or more delegates, and our old friend, Honest John Voll, who is President of the State Federation of Labor, and has been for years past, made a splendid report to the convention, every feature being concurred in unanimously. As a resident of that State myself I knew all the delegates personally for a number of years, and was called on to address the convention after the Tobacco Workers' resolution was adopted. My subject was "Union Labels and Their Achievements," which was listened to very attentively by the delegates. A number of resolutions were introduced pertaining to the welfare of the toilers of Ohio. The convention was addressed also by Thomas Duffy, a member of the Industrial Commission, who delivered a splendid address on compensation laws and demonstrated very clearly the danger of removing members of that Commission from office through change of political administrations. Brother Carney and myself also distributed literature and presented each delegate with a package of "Union Workmen" scrap, kindly donated by the Scotten-Dillon Tobacco Company. Brother Carney made many friends during the session of the convention, and added much to his popularity through his knowledge of the labor movement in discussing these matters with the delegates, as he has on many occasions represented Local No. 13 in the Michigan State Federation of Labor as a delegate.

I arrived in Louisville later in the month of October to take up some of the work that accumulated during my absence.

During the month of November as a delegate to the Union Label Trades Department convention, which was to be held in San Francisco on November 4, I was compelled to lose my vote in the State election which was to take place on November 2. I was very much interested in the many issues that were to be voted upon concerning labor measures and the election of friends of organized labor, and regretted very much indeed that I was compelled to be disfranchised; never-

theless, as an officer of this Department, I was compelled to attend this convention. It is not necessary to repeat my report of what transpired at the Union Label Trades Department convention, as it was published in the January issue of the official journal. While in the city of San Francisco I addressed several meetings, and particularly one of the Union Label section of the San Francisco Central Labor Council which was largely attended by our organization, who appreciated the work accomplished for the Tobacco Workers' label by the members of this Council, especially Brother Guth, a cigarmaker by profession, and Secretary of the League, who was untiring in his efforts to promote a better sale for union labeled tobaccos on the Pacific coast. Brother Guth with Mr. Evans and myself helped to tack up our large signs in all the labor halls in San Francisco and distributed mirrors at the grand ball given for the delegates at the Civic Auditorium. During my stay in the city of San Francisco Mr. Evans and myself distributed literature and souvenirs among the delegates, and in addition to that sampled the convention with tobaccos and cigarettes kindly donated to us by the Bagley Tobacco Co., of Detroit; Scotten-Dillon Tobacco Co., of Detroit, and cigarettes by the F. D. Ware Tobacco Co., of Lynchburg, Va., and through this distribution I feel positive that good results will accrue from it, as the delegates represented in the American Federation of Labor came from all affiliated crafts in different sections of the United States and Canada. Mr. Bohls, who conducts a union tobacco factory in the city of San Francisco, was ill at the time and I was unable to see him, but met with his manager, who is very active and interested in the welfare of our organization. He invited Mr. Evans and myself to dinner at his home in Oakland, and through the columns of the Journal, I wish to convey our thanks to Mr. Anderson and his wife for their kind hospitality and consideration during our short stay in that city. He remarked that he had the best chef on the Pacific coast and we verify his statement after enjoying a splendid repast and refreshments, which were kindly spread before us, and the entertainment that they had prepared for us. We regretted very much indeed that we were compelled to leave so early, but we had committee work to attend to at San Francisco. After leaving San Francisco we arrived in Los Angeles the following day and addressed several meetings. All the delegates to the convention, including myself, were entertained by Mrs. Daisy Hock, of the Garment Workers of that city, who took the delegates for an automobile ride around the city, and on the following day entertained 60 or 70 delegates by an excursion to Catalina Islands, which was very interesting and enjoyed by all the members of the party. From Los Angeles I proceeded to San Diego and addressed several meetings of local unions in that city. On our way back, I addressed several meetings in Spokane, Seattle and Billings, Mont., and found a good demand for union labeled tobaccos all along the Pacific coast; also in St. Joseph, Mo., there is an excellent demand for union labeled tobaccos.

While in St. Louis, we stopped and called on Mr. Henry Keller and the members of Local No. 1, and was assured by them that everything was running smoothly, and that their wage scale would be presented to the manufacturers the first of the year asking for an increase. They seemed to be very optimistic that there would not be any trouble between the manufacturers and the local union in signing up the wage scale agreement. Brother Keller is one of the old standbys of No. 1, acting as Financial Secretary of that organization, and in addition to working the factory, addresses local unions every evening in the advocacy of the union label. He is well known in the labor movement of St. Louis and vicinity for his activity in labor circles. I only wish we had more active members like him in our International union.

I then returned to the office to take up the usual routine work which had accumulated. Nothing of importance transpired, and as it was near the holidays I intended spending those few days home with my family.

On the 28th day of December Mr. Evans forwarded me a telegram, and I

was requested to immediately go to Scranton, as the President of Local No. 37 anticipated a strike in the Clark & Snover factory, owing to the laying off of one of their members. I left home on the 31st of December and arrived in Scranton Sunday morning. I called a meeting of the local union for Monday evening to enable me to get the facts concerning the situation. It appeared that work being slack in the factory one of our members was laid off, and one of the older members supplanted him, and he charged the manufacturer of taking advantage of him for his union activity. The matter was discussed pro and con at the meeting, and a committee was appointed to accompany me to take up the question that was in dispute. Brother S. Parsons, President of the local union, acted as a committee. In discussing the matter the following day with the manager, Mr. Dale, we were informed that the member had been very irregular and indifferent as to the orders given him by the foreman, and would lay off weeks at a time from his work when he was really needed. The Brother himself admitted all this, and remarked that he did not care for the position and that he just wanted to show the manufacturer that the union would force him back to his old place, regardless of his indifference or inattention to his duties. The member himself was appointed on the committee to accompany Brother Parsons and myself to see the manufacturer. He accepted his appointment on the night of the meeting, but after the meeting declined to accompany us. In making my decision at the meeting following, I called the members' attention to the fact that as the Brother had never at any time in my recollection for the past ten years been active in the labor movement, and at times repeatedly refused to act on any committee when appointed by the union, could not have been discharged for his union activity, which the minutes of the former meeting would prove, and in addition to that the member who had supplanted him had been an old member of our organization, giving him seniority rights over his predecessor in that position; also the member's indifference of caring little or nothing for his position, and being well supplied in a financial way to carry him through life, the manager was justified in laying him off. My decision was indorsed by the local union, and they gave me a vote of thanks for the increase I had gotten them in the amicable manner in which I had adjusted their controversy.

I then visited New York to attend the Advisory Board meeting of Locals Nos. 83, 98 and 100. I found the old guards still on deck—Sheines, Tigel, Matlin, Gidoney, Bock and the other members of the Board—and regretted very much indeed to find my old friend Berman, Treasurer of the local unions, on the sick list. Their activity is known all over the east side of New York in the agitation for the union label. In company with Brother Sheines, we arrived in Louisville to attend the meeting of the Executive Board, which was to take place on the 12th of January, 1916. It is not necessary to dwell on, or to explain to the membership what transpired at the Executive Board meeting, for the minutes of the Executive Board meeting have been read by the rank and file of our organization ere this, and a summary relative to the controversy of the Garment Workers and the Hebrew trades in which our organization was interested appeared in those minutes.

I received a letter from Mr. Thomas Tracy requesting me to attend the United Mine Workers' convention, which was to take place on the 18th of January, in the city of Indianapolis, representing the Union Label Trades Department. On arriving in that city I found it very difficult to find a hotel, owing to several other conventions that were taking place at that time. This is one of the largest conventions in the organized labor movement. There were in the neighborhood of 1,500 delegates and possibly 300 or more visitors, which made a large gathering. The usual formalities of the opening of a convention were indulged in, addresses of welcome being made by representatives of the municipal departments of the city and the labor movement, to the delegates of that convention. I found it impossible to address the convention until the fourth day, owing to resolutions that were presented that

attacked the administration, which had brought on heated discussions. John White, President of that organization, was equal to the emergency, and came out of the controversies with flying colors. He was ably assisted in his work by Frank Hayes, Vice-President; Wm. Green, Secretary-Treasurer, and Mother Jones, who is beloved by all the miners. I renewed the acquaintance of members of the organization whom I have known for years and who have been active in the labor movement. I addressed the convention on the subject of Union Labels and what would accrue if the rank and file would use their purchasing power in employing union men and women. I also talked on the label of the Tobacco Workers at some length. At the conclusion of my address Brother G. W. Savage, Secretary-Treasurer of District No. 6, requested me to tell the old story of the "Italian and the Harp," the story being so old and shop-worn as I told the convention, I was ashamed to repeat it, but if they insisted upon me telling it I would proceed with the story, and in concluding it was ringingly received. During my stay at the convention Mr. Evans assisted me in distributing cards, mirrors, literature and union labeled tobaccos, kindly sent by the Scotten-Dillon Tobacco Co., the Bagley Tobacco Co., the Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co., the Burley Society Tobacco Co., and the Spence Bros. of Cincinnati, who sent full size packages of their famous brands of "Hamburg" and "Wigwam" long cut tobacco, which is well known among the miners of Ohio, Pennsylvania and Alabama, all of which was appreciated by the delegates of the convention. In addition to that the F. D. Ware Tobacco Co., of Lynchburg, Va., forwarded 2,000 of Virginia cigarettes, which were distributed among the delegates. In my talk to the delegates, I informed them that there was no reason why they should not purchase tobaccos bearing the label, as the samples that I had distributed were long cut, cut plug, granulated scrap and cigarettes, all of which were entitled to their consideration, and the same could be had by just demanding it from their dealers. Some very interesting addresses were made before the convention by Frank Walsh, of the Commission on Industrial Relations, and the old time advocate of union rights, T. V. Powderly, Mother Jones and others. This convention was in session for nearly three weeks, and when they adjourned a committee was appointed for a meeting with the operators in Mobile, Ala., for the adjustment of wage increases in their agreement.

Leaving Indianapolis, I was requested to attend a meeting of Local No. 132, of Toledo, Ohio, where there had been some dissension among the members of the organization. Together with Brother John Quinlivan, Business Agent of the Central Body, we addressed a meeting on Feb. 2, and called their attention to the fact that it was only through unity, perseverance and loyalty that they would ever be able to achieve for themselves the conditions that they desire; also called their attention to the fact that individuality brought nothing to the worker, but only through a united effort of organization would their best interests be conserved. It appeared that some individuals outside of the labor movement were injecting poison into the minds of the girls, and through their insidious attacks on organized labor they were making some headway. It also appeared as though some unseen forces were at work in endeavoring to disorganize them, which would ultimately mean a reduction in wages and possibly an increase in hours. After discussing the matter with them for several hours they realized that it was to their interest to still retain their organization, as through it they would be able to demand better wages and working conditions in the future. Brother Quinlivan assured me that he would do all in his power, and give them a talk every night, to combat any insinuations of the emissaries of the Manufacturers' Association in endeavoring to disorganize the girls. Brother Quinlivan deserves the thanks of the membership of our International union for the work he has accomplished in the city of Toledo, and the maintenance of our local organization in that city.

In conclusion, I wish to state that not withstanding the depression in business during the past year, and particularly so in the tobacco industry, the year 1916

appears on the surface as a most prosperous and successful one, unless some unknown and unforeseen complication should occur. Owing to the awful calamity that is taking place on the other side of the water, the war in Europe, a scarcity of licorice is taking place—this ingredient is principally obtained from those countries—and the high cost of glycerine, which is causing the manufacturers a great deal of trouble and inconvenience, are the only reasons that I can assign that would impede the prosperity of the tobacco industry during the coming year of 1916. So in appealing to the members of our International union, I would advise each and every member of our local unions to act as a committee of one to call on every man and woman working in the tobacco industry and induce them to become members of our organization, as that is the only means of bettering the conditions of the workers who are compelled to labor in our industry. I wish to again call the attention of our membership to their duty towards other organizations in demanding the union label on every purchase, thereby living up to the motto, "Do by others as you would have them do unto you."

Thanking you for your patience and forbearance,

Respectfully submitted,

A. McANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Continued from January issue

WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY.

The investigations and hearings of the Commission justify the conclusions:

1. As a result of their unprotected condition, women and children are exploited in industry, trade, domestic service, and agriculture, to an extent which threatens their health and welfare and menaces the well-being of future generations.

2. The competition of women and children is a direct menace to the wage and salary standards of men.

3. Under present conditions, children are permitted by their parents to go to work largely because their earnings are necessary for the support of the rest of the family. The restrictive legislation of the past quarter century, although admirable in purpose and ultimate results, has thrown a heavy burden upon their fathers and mothers, who, at existing wages, have been barely able to support their families. The evidence shows that the burden of child labor legislation has rested upon the wage-earners rather than upon employers. It is the testimony of enlightened employers that the employment of children is unprofitable, and that the effect of excluding children from factories has been to increase rather than decrease profits. In the interest of society as a whole, further restrictions on the employment of immature children are necessary, but it is important that they should be made with an understanding that the burden will rest primarily upon the wage earners, whose self-sacrifice should be fully recognized.

4. The increasing employment of women has been due to two primary causes: First, the low wages of men, which have made the earnings of women necessary for the support of the family, and, second, the inducement of employers to substitute women for men because they will accept lower wages and are less likely to protest against conditions. The substitution of women for men has been greatly assisted by the introduction of improved machinery, which makes strength and technical skill unnecessary.

5. The increased employment of women, under present working conditions, is a serious menace to their own health and well-being, to the wages of their husbands and brothers, and to the ideals of family life upon which American civilization has been established.

6. The conditions under which women are employed in domestic service and in agriculture, merit the attention of the nation no less than does their employment in manufacturing and trade. Not only is the economic condition of women employed in agriculture and domestic service a matter of grave concern, but they are subject to overwork, unreasonable hours, and personal abuse of various kinds, from which they have been largely relieved in factories and

stores through agitation and legislation.

7. The position of women in industry has been rendered doubly hard by reason of their lack of training for industrial work, by the over-supply of such labor and the consequent competition, by their traditional position of dependence, and by their disfranchisement.

8. A very thorough investigation in the New England States failed to show a single manufacturer who had left a State as a result of restrictive factory legislation. On the contrary, the majority of manufacturers expressed the opinion that the legislation regulating conditions for women and children had been advantageous to the industry as a whole, particularly because it placed all competitors upon the same footing. Similarly, an investigation of the effects of minimum-wage legislation failed to show any calculable effects upon the cost of production or upon the employment of women, after a sufficient period had elapsed to allow the necessary readjustments to be made.

9. Nevertheless, there is a strong and increasing demand on the part of manufacturers in the more progressive States that regulation of factory conditions should be undertaken by the Federal Government, in order that competitors in all parts of the country should be placed upon an equal footing in this respect. The same demand comes also from the representatives of labor, not only because the argument of "interstate competition" is creating strong opposition to progressive legislation, but because of the great economy of effort which would result from having to make the right for better legislation only at the National Capital instead of in forty-five states.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The recognition both by public opinion and in such legislation as may be enacted, of the principle that women should receive the same compensation as men for the same service.

2. Until this principle is recognized, and women are accorded equal political rights, the extension of State protection of women, through legislation regulating working conditions, hours of service, and minimum wages, is highly desirable.

3. The increased organization of working women for self-protection and the improvement of their industrial conditions.

4. The inclusion of all women working for wages, whether in industry, trade, domestic service, or agriculture, under future legislation regulating their wages, hours, or working conditions.

5. The extension of the principle of State protection of children and the rapid increase of facilities for their education as outlined elsewhere.

6. The enactment by Congress of legislation embodying the principles contained in the so-called Palmer-Owen bill, which was before Congress at the last session.

Public Utilities.

The report discusses conditions of employment in the two principal telegraph companies, in the telephone service, in the service of the Pullman Company and on the railroads. It says:

The investigations of the Commission show:

1. The scope of the Newlands Act, which applies only to employes engaged in the operation of interstate railroads, is too narrow and leaves the public service in the transmission of intelligence and in the handling of interstate commerce likely to be interrupted by labor disputes without any adequate legal provision either for mediation and conciliation or for making the facts involved in the dispute known to the public.

2. Even as applied to train service employes, the Newlands Act provides no maens of bringing the facts before the public, except when both sides agree to arbitration.

3. The selection of impartial members of arbitration boards has almost without exception developed upon the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, owing to the inability of the parties to agree. This not only imposes an unpleasant and burdensome task upon the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, but tends to greatly weaken its influence. The experience in Great Britain shows that agreement can be reached by joint conference of employers and employes during a period

of industrial peace for the selection of a panel of impartial persons from which arbitrators can be selected when they are needed, and seems to indicate that in the United States the inability of the parties to agree upon impartial arbitrators is due at least to the fact that they are always selected during the heat of the conflict.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The extension of the Newlands Act to cover not only all classes of railroad employes, but all employes of public service corporations which are engaged in interstate commerce.

2. The functions of the Board of Mediation and Conciliation under the Newlands Act should be extended to provide for the creation of Boards of Investigation, to be formed only by consent of both parties and to make a report of facts and recommendations which will not be binding upon either side.

3. The Board of Mediation and Conciliation should be authorized by Congress to create an Advisory Council, composed of equal numbers of employers and employes, for the purpose of creating a panel of names from which impartial arbitrators may be chosen by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation.

TELEGRAPH.

The investigations and hearings of the Commission justify the following conclusions:

1. The workers employed by the two principal telegraph companies (the Western Union Telegraph and the Postal Telegraph-Cable) are not only underpaid, as admitted by the highest officials in their testimony before the Commission, but subject to many abuses, such as the denial of proper periods of relief while on duty, the establishment of arbitrary speed rates, which frequently result in overstrain, the arbitrary discharge of employes without notice for any cause or no cause, the employment of young boys for messenger service under conditions which can result only in their moral corruption, and the employment of women for telegraph service at night.

2. Such conditions have existed practically without change at least since 1884, in spite of the facts having been made public by three Government investigations.

3. The workers are practically unable to improve their condition because these two companies, which control practically the entire industry, deny them the right of organization. The suppression of organization is effectively carried out by the discharge of all known to be union men or union sympathizers, by the use of spies who fraudulently secure the confidence of employes and report all known to be union members or sympathizers, by the use of an effective system of blacklisting, and by the control even of the personnel of the operators upon leased wires even in the offices of brokers and other private individuals.

4. The two companies have a monopoly of the transmission of telegrams, and no effective competition exists between them. These companies are performing a service in the transmission of intelligence which has been held by the Federal Supreme Court to have been reserved by the Constitution specifically to the Federal Government.

5. The telegraph companies are enormously overcapitalized, and their rates, which are graded to pay dividends upon large amounts of stock which do not represent the investment of cash, are very much higher than the cost of service warrants.

To be continued in next issue.

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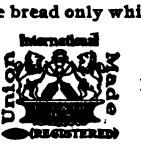
THIS  **LABEL**

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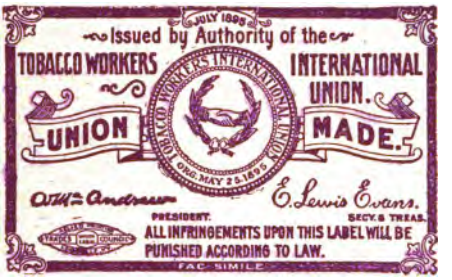

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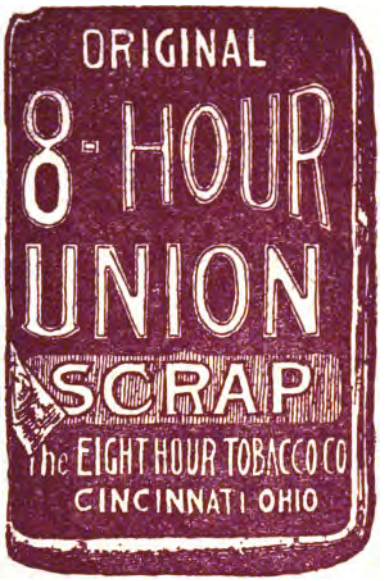

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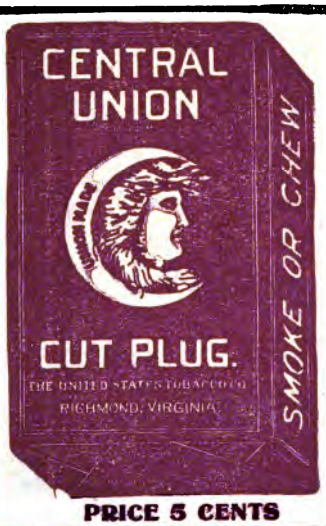

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REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Continued from February issue

6. Owing to the duplication of offices on the part of the two companies and the maintenance of branch offices which are idle for a large part of the time, this service is being performed inefficiently and at an unusually high cost in spite of the low wages paid the operators.

It is suggested that Commission recommend:

1. The property of the telegraph companies or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telegraph system, should be purchased by the Federal Government, after proper valuation, and placed upder the general jurisdiction of the Post Office Department for operation. In transferring the service to the Federal Government all employes, including officials and other persons, necessary for successful operation, should be retained, and those whom the elimination of the duplicate service of the two companies renders unnecessary for the National system, should be absorbed into other branches of the Federal service as far as practicable.

2. At the time of the transfer to the Federal service a special commission should be appointed to revise the salary ratings and other working conditions and place them upon a proper basis.

TELEPHONE.

The investigations of the Commission are the basis for the following statements:

1. The condition of the telephone operators in both interstate and local service is subject to grave criticism. The wages paid even in the cities having the highest standards are insufficient to provide decently for women who have no other means of support. The requirements and nervous strain incident to the service are so very severe that experienced physicians have testified that operators should work not more than five hours per day, whereas the regular working hours are from seven to nine per day. The operators, who are principally girls and young women, are required to work at night, going to and returning from their work at hours when they are subject to grave menace. The policy of the companies in general provides for sanitary and reasonably comfortable working places, and for attention to the recreation and physical needs of the operators, but in a number of cities the conditions even in these respects are subject to severe criticism.

2. The telephone operators are unable to secure reasonable conditions for themselves, because of their youth and the fact that they ordinarily remain in the service only a short time.

3. The organization of the employes for their own protection is effectively resisted by the employing companies.

4. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, with its subsidiary and affiliated corporations, controls more than 70 per cent. of the total telephone business of the country. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has been enormously profitable and is well able to afford the necessary improvements in working conditions. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company has increased its capitalization

enormously without the investment of new capital.

5. The transaction by which the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, which had been a subsidiary of the American Bell Telephone Company, but resulted in the increase of the capitalization of the combination from $25,886,300 to $75,276,600 without the addition of any new capital.

6. The transmission of intelligence is a function which is specially reserved by the Constitution to the Federal Government, but which in the telephone field has been permitted to become the practical monopoly of a single corporation.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The purchase by the Federal Government, after proper valuation, of the property of the interstate and local telephone companies, or such part of their equipment as may be necessary for the efficient operation of a National telephone system.

2. The transfer of all employes, including officials, necessary for the operation of the National telephone system, to the Federal service as far as possible, and the absorption, as far as practicable, of all employes who are not necessary for the telephone system into other branches of the Federal service.

3. When such employes are transferred to the Federal service, the creation of a special commission to establish salary ratings and other working conditions on a proper basis.

4. In the meantime provision should be made by Congress for the creation of a minimum wage board to fix minimum wage standards for women employes who are engaged in the transmission of messages in interstate commerce. The board should be authorized to differentiate between localities in fixing minima, if on due consideration such differential rates should be deemed advisable.

5. The creation of minimum wage boards in the several States to fix minimum wages for all women employes engaged in service within the State.

THE PULLMAN COMPANY.

The investigations and hearings of the Commission developed the following facts:

1. The conductors and porters employed in the car service of the Pullman Company are employed under conditions which seem to require radical readjustment. Both classes of employes are admitted by officials of the company to be underpaid.

The standard salary of the porters ($27.50 per month) is such that the porters are obliged to secure tips from the public in order to live. The Pullman Company is admitted by the chairman of the Board of Directors to be the direct beneficiary of the tips from the public to the extent of the difference between fair wage and that which is now paid.

The hours of service are extremely long, the regulations of the Company allowing porters and conductors, when in service, only four hours' sleep per night and penalizing them severely if they sleep while on duty. Employes of the Pullman Company are subject to many other abuses, among which may be mentioned the arbitrary deduction from their salaries for such time as they may not be needed for the actual service of the company, although they are required to report at the office each morning and are sometimes compelled to wait the greater part of the day without compensation; the requirement that porters shall furnish blacking although they are not permitted to charge passengers for the service of shoe cleaning; the system of arbitrary penalties for the infraction of multitudinous rules; the requirement that all employes shall furnish their uniforms from one mercantile establishment, the owners of which are largely interested in the Pullman Company; and the lack of proper provision of sleeping quarters for employes when away from their home stations.

2. The Pullman Company has a bonus system, by which employes who have a "clean record" for the year receive an extra month's salary. This system serves to increase the earnings of those who receive the bonus, and is unquestionably appreciated by them. Nevertheless, it is inequitable in penalizing with extra severity any infractions of rules which occur during the latter half of the year, and puts into the hands of

officials and inspectors a means of discrimination which can be arbitrarily exercised.

3. The effect of the tipping system is not only to degrade those who are obliged by their economic conditions to accept tips, but to promote discrimination in the service of the public.

4. The employes of the Pullman Company are unable to improve their condition through organization, as employes known to be members of labor unions are discharged and through the means of an effective system of espionage employes are deterred from affiliating with labor unions.

5. The company is tremendously overcapitalized, having increased its capitalization from $36,000,000 in 1893 to $120,000,000 in 1915, without the investment of a single dollar on the part of the stockholders. Upon the basis of actual cash paid in, the annual dividends of the company are not less than twenty-nine per cent. During the history of the Company the stockholders have received cash dividends amounting to at least $167,000,000 and special stock dividends of $64,000,000, making a total of $231,000,000 on an actual investment of $32,601,238.

6. The company enjoys a practical monopoly of the sleeping car service.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The enactment by Congress of a statute prohibiting the tipping of any employe of a public service corporation engaged in interstate commerce, and providing a proper fine for both the giver and the recipient of the tip.

2. The amendment of the existing law regulating the hours of service of train employes to include the employes engaged in the Pullman service.

3. The extension of the Newlands Act, as already suggested, to cover the Pullman Company.

RAILROADS.

The investigations of the Commission with regard to railroads have been too limited to permit of general findings or recommendations. Enough evidence has, however, come before the Commission with regard to three points to warrant attention.

1. The railroad construction camps are largely insanitary, overcrowded and improperly equipped for the health and comfort of the employes. In addition there are many abuses, such as overcharging at the commissary and grafting by foremen.

2. The so-called voluntary benefit associations of a number of the railroads constitute, under the present system of management, a great injustice to employes. These funds, which are contributed almost entirely by the employes, the management as a rule paying only the cost of administration, until recently were generally used to relieve the companies from liability for accident, employes being required to sign a release in favor of the company at the time that they became members of the benefit association. In some cases, even, the membership is compulsory. Nevertheless the employes have no voice in the management and receive no equity when they are discharged. Finally, such associations, under their present management, serve to exert an undue influence over employes, since the members, if they quit the service for any period or for any cause, sacrifice to the company all that has been paid in.

3. Under the authority granted by the several States the railroads maintain a force of police, and some, at least, have established large arsenals and arms and ammunition. This armed force, when augmented by recruits from detective agencies and employment agencies, as seems to be the general practice during industrial disputes, constitute a private army clothed with a degree of authority which should be exercised only by public officials; these armed bodies, usurping the supreme functions of the State and oftentimes encroaching on the rights of the citizens, are a distinct menace to public welfare.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. Thorough investigation by the Public Health Service of railroad construction camps as well as other labor camps, and the preparation of definite plans for such camps and a standard code of sanitary regulations.

2. The enactment by Congress of a

statute expressly prohibiting corporations engaged in interstate commerce from inducing or compelling their employes to sign releases of liability for accidents.

3. Congress should enact a statute prohibiting interstate employers from requiring their employes to contribute to benefit funds, and providing for the participation of employes engaged in interstate commerce in the management of all benefit funds and other funds to which they contribute.

4. The regulation by Federal statute of the employment of police on interstate railroads. The statute should not only provide for the organization, personnel and powers of such police, but should definitely provide that during labor disputes such police should be subject to the proper civil authorities and paid out of the public treasury. The statute should also provide that such corporations should be permitted to have firearms only under license, requiring that a definite record be maintained showing the character of each firearm and to whom it is issued.

5. The assumption by the States of full responsibility and definite provision not only for protecting the property of railroads, but for preventing trespass upon their property.

Industrial Conditions In Isolated Communities.

One of the most striking features of the report is the finding that many typical industrial communities present every aspect of a state of feudalism. The report says:

The investigations and hearings of the Commission are the basis for the following statements:

1. The conditions existing in typical industrial communities which are either wholly or in large part owned or controlled by a single corporation or individual employer, present every aspect of a state of feudalism except the recognition of specific duties on the part of the employer. The employes in such communities are dependent on a single corporation, or employer, for their livelihood. Furthermore, the employer in many cases controls the social and political life of such communities, either by the complete absorption of local political powers or by domination of the local authorities.

2. The fundamental rights of citizens in such communities are, as a general rule, seriously abridged if not actually denied. Among the rights most seriously violated are the right of free speech and assemblage and the right of public highways.

In some cases, as for example in Colorado, employers in such communities have assumed to usurp the functions of the Federal Government itself in the instances of money orders, and have not only denied employes access to the post office when located in their company stores, but have opened and otherwise interfered with the mail directed to employes.

Such feudalistic conditions tend to develop principally in connection with the private exploitation of natural resources, being most frequently found in mining camps, lumber camps (including turpentine camps) and large plantations. There are, however, striking examples even in the case of manufacturers, as, for example, the textile towns and steel towns.

3. The most extreme form of domination and control exists in what are known as "closed camps," where the employer owns all the land upon which such camps are located and, because of this private ownership, not only exercises control over the local government, but dictates arbitrarily who shall be permitted to come into or pass through such communities. It has frequently been argued that such communities are simply the inevitable accompaniment of the development of new country and will be eliminated with time. This is not true, however, as the Commission's investigations have disclosed a large number of "closed camps" which have been in existence for more than a generation.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The enactment of appropriate State legislation providing that where communities develop, even upon privately owned land, the powers of the civil Government shall not be interfered with, nor shall the rights of access to the residence of

any person be restricted, nor shall the rights of persons to come and go unmolested, to speak freely and to assemble peacefully, be interfered with or considered to stand upon a different basis from the rights of persons in other communities.

2. In the case of public lands containing timber or minerals, which are now or may hereafter come into the possession of the Federal Government, it should be provided by statute that neither the lands nor the mineral rights should under any circumstances be sold, but should be used only upon lease for a limited term, such lease to contain as a part of the contract the conditions with regard to the rights of inhabitants as recited above and such lease to be forfeitable without recourse in case of the infraction of said conditions.

3. The Post Office Department should be directed to report to Congerss all communities in which the post office is in any company's store or other building operated by an employer or in which the postmaster is a private employer or the agent of an employer. The report should show the facts separately for those communities in which the employer or corporation operates an industry upon which any large number of inhabitants are dependent.

4. Congress and the State legislatures should enact statutes providing that any attempt on the part of an employer to influence his employes either directly or indirectly in connection with any Federal election either for or against any particular candidate, shall constitute intimidation; and further specifying that it shall constitute intimidation for any employer to give notice to his workmen that in the event of the election of any particular candidate, the establishment will not be operated.

AGRICULTURE.

To-day's section also urges action to improve the condition of farm labor and to stop the increase in farm tenancy by aiding farm owners. It says:

It was obviously impossible for the Commission to attempt a detailed investigation of agricultural conditions; but, because of the very immediate bearing of the land question on industrial unrest, it was felt necessary to make as thorough investigation as possible of the phases which seemed to have the most direct bearing on our general problem. The phases selected for discussion were first, the concentration of land ownership as shown by existing statistics; second, the problem of seasonal and casual agricultural labor; third, the increase and change in the character of farm tenancy; and fourth, the introduction of industrial methods into agriculture through the development of corporations operating large tracts of land. The findings and recommendations with reference to the concentration of ownership and the problems of seasonal labor are set forth elsewhere. At this point, it is desired to present the results of the investigations of tenancy and agricultural corporations.

The investigations of these problems was confined practically to the Southwest, because it is in this region that the systems have become most fully developed and their results in the form of the acute unrest of a militant tenant movement are most easily studied. The investigations in this region, however, were very thorough, consisting of detailed studies and reports by field investigators, which were later confirmed by a public hearing.

As a result of these investigations the following conclusions are fully justified:

1. Tenancy in the Southwestern States is already the prevailing method of cultivation and is increasing at a very rapid rate. In 1880, Texas had 65,468 tenant families, comprising 36.6 per cent. of all farms in the State. In 1910, tenant farmers had increased to 219,571, and operated 54 per cent. of all the farms in the State. Reckoning on the same ratio of increase that was maintained between 1900 and 1910, there should be in Texas in the present year (1915) at least 236,000 tenant farmers. A more intensive study of the field, however, shows that in the eighty-two counties of the State where tenancy is highest, the average percentage of tenants will approximate sixty.

Continued on page 14

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E. LEWIS EVANS .....Secretary-Treasurer
50-51-52-53 Iroquois Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky.

SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

Some of these days laws limiting the right of co-operative effort or collective action through organization of the workers will be urged strongly by the employers. An effort will be made to do it through legislation and it will be just as logical as depriving the workers of the right to strike or leave the premises of the employer.

It is reported that an industry out in California in a town of its own, surrounding the shops, notices have been posted warning the employes that they are not permitted to leave the premises.

Chalk this up in your mind.

The Mahoning County Grand Jury returned indictments against the steel trust in the Youngstown, Ohio, district on the charge of uniting to fix wages for the workers in their employ. The cases grew out of the riots in East Youngstown on January 7.

The effect of the Grand Jury's report on the individuals indicted reminds one somewhat of the protests of a hive of bees if it is disturbed. The bees come out and sail round, giving vent to their anger and expressing in their own way of the words "who has dared to intrude upon our vested rights," "who has dared to assail us in the premises." Judge Gary says it is outrageous, and each one of the indicted voices a protest seemingly questioning the right of any jury to have aught to say against them.

They have considered themselves so safely ensconced behind financial power that their trenches were impervious against invasion, and any one who had nerve enough to charge the trenches should be shot instanter. A little later we will see who gets shot.

With the cooling off of the heat generated by injustices heaped upon organized labor in Colorado, elements of justice are filling in the gaps.

Just recently justice has been again enthroned. Four members of the United Miners who with others were indicted, have on jury trial, been acquitted of the charge of murder in the killing of Major Lester. The case was tried in Judge Dennison's court at Castle Rock.

The State Supreme Court had by decision eliminated Judge Hillyer from the hearings, and justice was made possible. Had Judge Hillyer been on the bench there may be some question as to the results. He being formerly an attorney for the coal company, and at the time when the trouble arose would in all likelihood have exerted an influence inimical to the rights of the accused, and the administration of justice.

Let us hope that Colorado may soon return to her old-time place where justice may obtain.

Does it not seem strange, if not criminal, that in the United States with all the twentieth century improvements and facilities for the preservation of life,

both infantile and adult, that there should be such a fearful mortality as official figures show.

Just think, in times of peace and a rightful plenty we have the enormous death roll of 350,000, and most of them are from preventable causes. We boast of our skill, improvement in machinery and means of production, and entertain the idea that we eclipse all other nations in a productive sense, but we do not seem to count the cost, and too, a cost that need not be. Is this not a sad commentary on our applied efficiency of which we hear so much in the columns of our daily press.

Figures recently published state, that in our industrial exploitation system and preventable causes of death among men, women and children employed in gainful occupations there are killed 250,000 and wounded 4,000,700. In addition to this, poverty, which is one of the causes of our high death rate, causes the death of 100,000 babies before they reach the first milestone of their little lives. Poverty, is assigned as the cause of this terrible killing off of what would be an invaluable addition to our country so plentifully supplied with all that is needful for the preservation of life.

Is a record like this not one that we should be thoroughly ashamed of? It is positively criminal and a dishonor to the name of our great and wealthy country.

The Committee on Industrial Relations in their investigation state that poverty, in this country of peace and plenty, is the direct cause of more deaths and misery than that taking place on the battle fields of any of the warring countries in Europe.

The committee's report further shows, in the industries where the low wages prevail—in the steel, textile and some of the garment industries—the infantile death rate is four times that where organizations of the workers prevail and wages are more nearly normal.

It also shows that in industries where mothers are compelled to work to even up the high cost of living, mortality among the infants is three times that of where mothers are not a part of the factory system. In summing up the question the report says that everywhere disease and death superinduced by poverty is greatest where the work is hardest and where there is no organization to protect the workers against the rapacity of the greedy employers. It is also proven that it is in these towns and sections that the greatest amount of wealth from production is returned to the employing class.

Oh, child of mine, why did I bring
You to the place of suffering and woe;
To be a part of this terrible tearful thing
We call living, when it is only a blasted
show.

Just recently we heard the phrase "Threading a needle in the dark" used as denunciatory of a proposed condition offered by one party to another.

The phrase is quite apropos in the present preparedness proposition of which so many columns in the daily press are taken up. Our money-mad interests whose machinations have and now roll their capitalistic juggernaut over thousands, crushing their lives out and leaving misery behind on every side. The same feelingless method, only of greater magnitude, is permeating this preparedness movement.

When there is any fighting to be done labor is the one that is called upon to do it, while the money-bags laugh to themselves inwardly, and outwardly cheer the poor dupes who are going to the slaughter yards, and leaving behind the soon-to-be widows and orphans to suffer the untold miseries of money-bag's fight. The ruthlessness of the American money-bag system is not less than that of the Prussian money-bag system—nothing deters them. The workers in peace time are the legitimate prey of profit, and in war time, food for cannon, a screen to protect vested interests.

If our military system could be put on a basis of such equality as is the military system in Switzerland, where all are on equal footing when defense of the realm is called upon, the workers of this country would look upon the matter from a different point of view; but our military system as we have it even in peace times has not the democracy about it that is so prevalent in Swiss system. With a large

military system in this country there would be a vast extension of the military aristocracy that now pervades what little military system we now have here, and unless great changes were made, old Moneybags would run the military system in its enlarged form as he does now, and run the government with it, as he now does with his powers derived from financial influences. Money, like water, has a natural tendency to flow to its largest centres and governs these centres as the sea governs the fresh waters which flow into it; it is absorbed as the fresh waters are by the salty sea. Like begets like. The people who control the money gravitate toward each other and become as aristocratically powerful as the sea; a poor devil of a worker has about as much chance as a sailing ship has in an angry sea, and when he goes down, he is thought no more of than the sea thinks of the ship which its waves have battered and sent to the bottom. With a prospect such as that, is it possible for the common herd to look with complacency upon voluntarilly giving the ruthless more power than they have already arrogated to themselves? Not if they are wise and have any sense of future self preservation. If he is content to be a passive inanimate unit and merely a cog in the great wheel of government with the other fellow doing the turning, old Moneybag's idea may suit him. But if he is an active unit with the spirit that a human being is supposed to be possessed of, he will not be content to be the slave of old Moneybags without offering his share of resistance. It is the presence of that spirit that has inspired our labor movement of to-day. It is to the credit of the British workers that they stood like a rock as they did against the militarist spirit and exacted restrictive measures when the conscription question was in course of formation. The question now arises, have we in America got the back-bone, nerve and resourcefulness to provide and stand out for protective measures when a military system suitable to the money-bag interests is turned into the congressional mill to be ground out and fashioned after the will of the powers that be. A test may come that will prove whether the boasted freedoms and liberties are real or only pieces of fiction.

It is declared that our government is the most responsive to the will of those under it of any on earth; but some people are now living who have had their confidence on this question very rudely shaken. They are now on the "show me" side of the fence and they have many friends to whom the word doubt is not a stranger. These doubting Thomases have been doing some tall thinking during the last few years. Personal and other experiences have started the clockwork in their think-boxes moving, very slowly at first, but gaining in momentum as the months go by, and now this military question has fallen on some minds at least that are in a mobile state and will not be gulped down like the big fish does the little one. These minds are not unmindful of the fear that vested interests have for the safety of that which they control, a large part of which is the result of a legalized highway robbery. They know that the greatest fear these barons have is that they may in turn be robbed of their illegally acquired plunder; they know, also, that the plunderers through their influence and governmental control will force the plundered to stand guard over that which they themselves have been robbed, exposing valuable lives to the piercing of bullets and the smashing of cannon, while the robber barons hie themselves to places of safety, to later emerge finding themselves more deeply and thoroughly entrenched than ever before. The workers have ever been willing to give their lives for their country when attacked, but they have a new thought coming when they see in the militarist spirit a noose by which they may later hang themselves. Preparedness is all right for the protection from an attacking enemy from the outside, but when it is to be used for oppressive methods where the workers inside are concerned the horse changes color.

What is to become of the efficiency victims?—that is, the old men who have served the useful days of their lives in a calling, only to suddenly find themselves ruthlessly thrown on the scrap pile to

work their way out as best they may. If there is one thing more bitter than another it must be to be told, "Your usefulness to us is over; you are discharged." That is what in these days of efficiency method is occurring every day to men who have been faithful to their tasks day after day and year after year, and then to be told without warning that they are out of date is not calculated to give peace of mind. It is not human to expect a man to take such a situation in a philosophical manner; his whole being has been shocked; he thinks of his old helpmate who has traveled the road with him, sharing the ups and downs, the sorrows and pleasures of the journey, and to have to go home and tell her that he has been discharged because he was too old, too old.

What provision is to be made for such victims? Some provision must be made for them. If misfortune has followed them and the wages he made did not allow for a saving for an old age, there is nothing but the poorhouse or be dependent on someone else, who indeed may not in truth be able to stand the double strain, but out of the goodness of heart, charity and love will undertake the burden. Other countries have taken this task up and disposed of it by a pension system; is it not better to do that than to pay an equal amount to maintain the various plans now employed?

It is time we woke up to an ever increasing situation. The greater the induction of efficiency methods the greater will become the necessity for the protection of the victims resulting therefrom.

The capitalistic claw has again been stretched forth to tear and otherwise mutilate and enslave the workers.

Some time ago a law was slipped through the Colorado Iegislature which deprives the workers of the right to leave their employment when refused a request for improved conditions.

The right to strike is one of the rights in our bill of rights and liberty, and who has the right to deprive? The legislature of the capitalistically governed State of Colorado has essayed to strike at the liberty of its people and passed a law which says in brief that you must not strike your job when a demand for improved conditions is refused by your boss; you apply to the Industrial Commission for a permit and give thirty days notice of the intention. This law has not had much prominence until lately; two cases have come under it. One, that of the Journeymen Tailors, who in an effort to conform with the law last September gave the thirty days' notice, and a few days ago received the permit asked for six months ago. How is that for a case, in this land of the free, and the home of the brave? It sounds more like some of the middle age laws when a worker was the property of his employer and not an independent unit in the make-up of the country of free institutions. Another case coming under this Colorado law is that of 600 foreigners, Austrians (unorganized), who quit their jobs at the smelters of the American Smelting Company because of a refusal of a demand for improved conditions of work. All efforts to get these people to go back to work proved futile until a few days ago when some returned and others left the district or State.

If the trade unionists don't wake up they will find that John D. and his financial associates have them in a state of bondage on a par and after the manner of ancient Egyptians, and they will be told they must make bricks without straw.

This law is not in the John D. mind for Colorado alone. It is only being tried out there in the spot where they have virtual control and when well seated there, will be put over on us in other states, and then somebody can write a book under the title of "From Liberty to Bondage in the United States," a satire on the past.

The wealthy of Rome when she was in bloom were little worse in repressions on the workers than the wealthy of our own country would be if the chance is afforded them, and it is up to us to be awake and alive to the wily methods of some of the artful strategists whose financial powers can be enhanced by subjection of worker to a state of serfdom and depriving him of the rights of a free man.

The poor workers in Colorado, what will be their next affliction!

In his testimony on the Keating-Owen Child Labor Bill before the Senate committee, Scott Roberts, Treasurer of Adelaide Mills, Anniston, Alabama, urged Congress not to legislate the children out of their "Chosen Life Work."

One might infer from this statement that the children of the South were different elsewhere in the country and that they by their choice went into the mills to work. A very slight analysis of the case will show that this is far from being so. The fact is, that the parents in these cotton mill districts for many reasons (chief among them the fact that the mill owners will not employ them at wages which will support the families) cannot get employment that will keep the families from want. This is the lever that forces the children out of the homes and schools into the factories.

All children, with very few exceptions, prefer to spend their childhood days in sunlight and free air that was made for them to grow in and become competent and worthy men and women.

The mill owners from mercenary motives do and will use every device known to the human mind to defeat any legislation that will deprive them of the use of child wage slaves, by which they have for years been grinding out their bloodstained profits. They have been successful in defeating anti-child labor legislation in their several states where the mills are located and are now moving the mountains to defeat it in the National Legislature, and in the propaganda used they stop at nothing that has a business plausibility about it. They have defeated mostly all efforts on the part of the trade unions to organize the mills, using at times despicable means, causing untold misery.

The efforts of the trade unions to secure child labor legislation, though meeting defeat after defeat, has through its publicity enlisted the sympathies and assistance of some of the social reform associations, the influence of which, coupled with perseverance, is now gradually forcing a loosening of the mill owners' strangle hold. When the State legislatures refuse to adopt remedial legislation for this scourge, the National legislature was appealed to, and after many attempts the efforts are now crystalizing into something tangible to unseat the mighty in their unholy traffic. The mill owners have grown into it and they cannot be made to see the matter in any other light than the continued use of the baby fingers; they get them into the factory young and whip them into the mill owners' way of thinking and by artful means watch to see that nothing interferes with their training.

Let us hope that our National Legislature cannot be manhandled and soothed into the mill owners' way of looking at tear and bloodstained traffic.

After years of untiring effort with recurring setbacks the shorter workday (eight hours) is crystalizing into a concrete movement. The necessity for it is becoming more and more potent. Minds who have been blind to importance, and potent factors of the shorter workday, are awakening and putting into active motion the machinery for the surmounting of the difficulties that have stood in the way.

Many employers, large and small, have been brought to the light of day on the question, and since adopting it in their plants would not return to the old time long-hour system. They have found that their employes give more efficient service and the cost sheets do not show any appreciable cost per unit, and many have said, had they known what the result would be, they would have adopted it long before. Publicity and unceasing work on the part of the trade unionists are now reaping a well earned reward.

In advocating the shorter hours of work President Gompers delivered the following:

"The individual who works eight hours or less does not each day exhaust his energy. He has time for recuperation and something more. His mind is more alert and active. He is capable of more vigorous and more effective work. He goes to and from work at a time when well-dressed people are on the streets. He really has time and opportunity for making comparisons and forming desires.

He has longer time to stay at home, sees other homes better furnished, and consequently wants a better home for himself. He wants books, pictures, friends, entertainment. In short, he becomes a human being with intellectual desires and cravings. This change makes him a more valuable worker. Because his standard of living has changed he demands higher wages. Men and women will not continue indefinitely to work for wages that force them to live below their concepts of what constitutes standards of living."

The terrible mortality going with our fast developing industrial evolution, which finding a wide publicity has resulted in an agitation for safety appliances. Investigations along this line has proven that long hours of labor is a large contributing cause to the long line of industrial accidents. These investigations in turn have exerted an influence showing an urgent necessity for a reduction in the hours of labor. The modern methods of production keyed up to speed, as the workers must be to keep pace with the producing ability or capacity of the machine, causes a nerve strain that in older times was unknown. The nerve strain for long hours incapacitates the worker and toward the close of the long day the producing ability becomes numbed, the physical endurance limit is reached, and the brain loses its directing power; it is then that many accidents occur.

Physical well-being cannot be conserved under conditions wherein the nerve strain is tried to its limit. Nature has so constructed man that he has a reserve force in addition to this normal capacity, which is to support him in an emergency, and if that reserve force is continually drawn upon, exhaustion finally overcomes him; inclination, no matter how strong, is unable to compel the motive power to action.

When a human being reaches a condition like this he ceases for the time being to be mentally normal and his mental balance is easily upset and under favorable conditions may be swayed in a direction that his own good and welfare are brought into jeopardy, a darkness of vision sets in over him and the only thing that will give return to a normal condition is Nature's great restorer, sleep. No human unit continually strained to the physical endurance limit can give his best service to citizenship, he is mentally unfit to properly comprehend his duties as such; that which he reads he cannot digest, and he only gets a superficial comprehension of his subject; in other words, his foundation is badly cracked.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, We have been informed of the death of Mr. W. P. Jobson, who passed away on the 28th day of October, 1915, and who has been for many years associated with the Tobacco Workers' International Union as the official printer and a close and personal friend of each member of the International Executive Board; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the Executive Board, now in session express our deepest sympathy to his family in their sad bereavement in the loss of a loving husband and a kind and indulgent father; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family, and a copy be embodied in the records of the minutes of this session of the International Executive Board's meeting, and also a copy of these resolutions be published in our official journal.

(Signed) A. MCANDREW,
President,
W. R. WALDEN,
First Vice-President,
JOHN RUCKERT,
Second Vice-President.
CHARLES ALDER,
Third Vice-President,
A. SHEINES,
Fourth Vice-President,
A. J. TURNER,
Fifth Vice-President,
ROBERT FOX,
Sixth Vice-President,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Pity the individual who harbors malice. He is the victim of his own venom.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God in His all-seeing wisdom to take to Himself our esteemed and beloved sister and member, Setta Hart. In her death a good girl has gone to rest. We mourn her loss and submit to the will of Him who can but do all things well; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local No. 124 of the Tobacco Workers' International Union extend their most sincere sympathy to the bereaved family in their sorrow, as they mourn her loss most, and that the charter of Local No. 124 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the bereaved family of the deceased Sister Setta Hart, a copy sent to the International Union to be published in the monthly journal, and a copy spread upon the minutes of Local No. 124.

JAMES A. WILSON,
LORA TAYLOR,
CLARA RENCHLER,
Committee.

REPORT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Continued from page 7

For Oklahoma we have not adequate census figures as far back, but at the present time the percentage of farm tenancy in the State is 54.8 and for the 47 counties where the tenancy is highest the percentage of tenancy is 68.13.

2. Tenancy, while inferior in every way to farm ownership from a social standpoint, is not necessarily an evil if conducted under a system which protects the tenants and assures cultivation of the soil under proper and economical methods, but where tenancy exists under such conditions as are prevalent in the Southwest, its increase can be regarded only as a menace to the Nation.

3. The prevailing system of tenancy in the Southwest is share-tenancy, under which the tenant furnishes his own seed, tools and teams, and pays to the landlord one-third of the grain and one-fourth of the cotton. There is, however, a constant tendency to increase the landlord's share, through the payment either of cash bonuses or of a higher percentage of the product. Under this method tenants as a class earn only a bare living through the work of themselves and their entire families. Few of the tenants ever succeed in laying by a surplus. On the contrary, their experiences are so discouraging that they seldom remain on the farm for more than a year, and they move from one farm to the next in the constant hope of being able to better their condition. Without the labor of the entire family the tenant farmer is helpless. As a result, not only is his wife prematurely broken down, but the children remain uneducated and without the hope of any condition better than that of their parents. The tenants having no interest in the results beyond the crops of a single year, the soil is being rapidly exhausted, and the conditions therefore tend to become steadily worse. Even at present a very large proportion of the tenants' families are insufficiently clothed, badly housed, and underfed. Practically all of the white tenants are native born. As a result of these conditions, however, they are deteriorating rapidly, each generation being less efficient and more hopeless than the one preceding.

4. A very large proportion of the tenants are hopelessly in debt and are charged exorbitant rates of interest. Over ninety-five per cent. of the tenants borrow from some source, and about seventy-five per cent. borrow regularly year after year. The average interest rate on all farm loans is 10 per cent., while small tenants in Texas pay 15 per cent. or more. In Oklahoma the conditions are even worse, in spite of the enactment of laws against usury. Furthermore, over eighty per cent. of the tenants are regularly in debt to the stores from which they secure their supplies, and pay exorbitantly for this credit. The average rate of interest on store credit is conservatively put at 20 per cent. and in many cases ranges as high as 60 per cent.

5. The leases are largely in the form of oral contracts which run for only one

year and which make no provision for compensation to the tenant for any improvements which may be made upon the property. As a result, tenants are restrained from making improvements and in many cases do not properly provide for the upkeep of the property.

6. Furthermore, the tenants are in some instances the victims of oppression on the part of landlords. This oppression takes the form of dictation of character and amount of crops, eviction without due notice, and discrimination because of personal political convictions. The existing law provides no recourse against such abuses.

7. As a result both the evils inherent in the tenant system and of the occasional oppression by landlords, a state of acute unrest is developed among the tenants and there are clear indications of the beginning of organized resistance which may result in civil disturbances of a serious character.

8. The situation is being accentuated by the increasing tendency of the landlords to move to the towns and cities, relieving themselves not only from all productive labor but from direct responsibility for the conditions which develop. Furthermore, as a result of the increasing expenses incident to urban life, there is a marked tendency to demand from the tenant a greater share of the products of his labor.

9. The responsibility for the existing conditions rests not upon the landlords, but upon the system itself. The principal causes are to be found in the system of short leases, the system of private credit at exorbitant rates, the lack of a proper system of marketing, the absence of educational facilities, and last, but not least, the prevalence of land speculation.

10. A new factor is being introduced into the agricultural situation through the development of huge estates, owned by corporations and operated by salaried managers upon a purely industrial system. The labor conditions on such estates are subject to grave criticism. The wages are extremely low, 80 cents per day being the prevailing rate on one large estate which was thoroughly investigated; arbitrary deductions from wages are made for various purposes; and a considerable part of the wages themselves are paid in the form of coupons, which are, in all essential particulars, the same as the "scrip" which has been the source of such great abuse. Furthermore, the communities existing on these large estates are subject to the complete control of the land-owning corporation, which may regulate the lives of citizens to almost any extent. There is an apparent tendency toward the increase of these large estates and the greatest abuses may be expected if they are allowed to develop unchecked.

11. Prompt and effective action on the part of the States and the Nation is necessary if any alleviation of the conditions which have been described is to be achieved.

It is suggested that the Commission recommend:

1. The development through legislation of a system of longtime leases, providing that the tenant shall be compensated for all improvements made upon the property, and also providing for cropping systems which will maintain the fertility of the soil.

2. The establishment of National and State farm bureaus for the following purposes:

a. To act as an agent between landlords and tenants in the distribution of tenant labor.

b. To act as an agent between landlords and tenants in the preparation of equitable contracts.

c. To act as an information agency to assist homeseeking farmers.

d. To assist in the distribution of seasoned labor.

3. The development of better credit facilities through the assistance of the Government and co-operative organization of farmers and tenants. No single measure can be recommended; the results must be achieved through the development of a sound credit system, the development of land banks, mortgage associations and credit unions. Foreign experience shows that through these means the rate of interest can be greatly reduced and the security of both the borrower and the lender can be increased.

4. The general introduction of modernized rural schools and compulsory

education of children. The functions of the school system should extend beyond education to the social service of the entire rural community, assisting in the organization of farmers and tenants for co-operative purposes, and promoting other measures looking to the community's welfare.

5. The revision of the taxation system so as to exempt from taxation all improvements and tax unused land at its full rental value.

The best "friend of Labor" is Labor itself.

Any weakling can knock. It requires strength to build.

The Labor Temple was not built by men who said it couldn't be done.

A call for the union label is one way of helping yourself as well as the other fellow.

Gradually the Labor Movement is learning that nothing is done for it that it does not do for itself.

Massachusetts has enacted a bill prohibiting the employment of women and children overtime for the purpose of making up for lost time on a legal holiday.

The first silk factory in the United States was erected at Mt. Pleasant, O., in 1841 by John W. Gill and Thomas White. A "buckeye burr in light buff" was the first piece woven, and from this a vest pattern was presented to Henry Clay. Clay also wore a broadcloth suit of material made near the silk factory.

Monel metal, an alloy resembling nickel, will probably replace steel and bronze for the construction of yachts. It is tougher than nickel steel, does not corrode, and retains its brightness. Aluminum, the lightest of yacht plates, lasts only a short time in contact with salt water.

To see a man fearless in danger, untainted with lusts, happy in adversity, composed in a tumult and laughing at all those things which are generally coveted or feared, all men must acknowledge that this can be nothing else but a beam of divinity that influences a mortal body.—Seneca.

STICK TOGETHER.

Wendell Phillips said: "Have faith in each other. Stick together. If you want power in this country, if you want to make yourself felt, if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have bread on their table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have—if you don't want to wait yourself, write on your banner so that every political trimmer can read it, so that every politician, no matter how shortsighted he may be, can read it, 'We Never Forget!' If the wage earners devote themselves to their own cause with more serious determination and loyalty their interests will be less often infringed upon by men in public life or by greedy employers."

REAL FOREBODINGS.

"My son," said the father impressively, "suppose I should be taken away suddenly, what would become of you?"

"Why," said the son, irreverently, "I'd stay here; the question is, what would become of you?"

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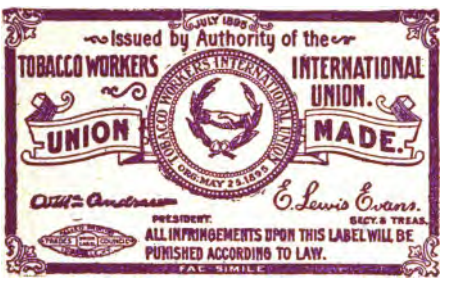

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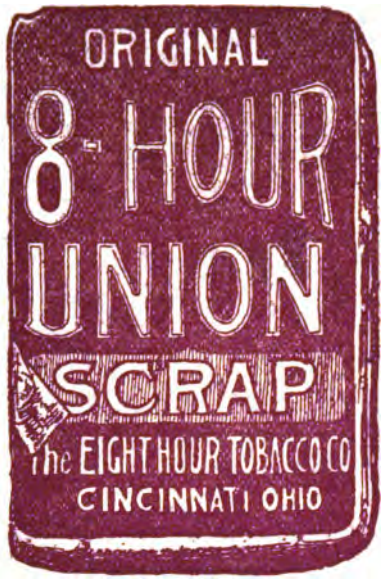

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Louisville, Ky.

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The Tobacco Worker.

SUPPLEMENTAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSIONERS LENNON AND McCONNELL.

The Commission on Industrial Relations today made public the supplemental findings and recommendations by Commissioners John B. Lennon and James O'Connell.

The Commissioners protest against the claim that the faults that may exist in trade union organizations can properly be considered among the causes of industrial unrest, and assert that such faults disappear as soon as trade unions are recognized and permitted to grow strong.

They urge strong labor organizations as the paramount remedy for industrial unrest.

The supplemental report dissents from the recommendation that a new Federal industrial commission be created for the administration of all labor laws. It urges that instead of creating new machinery, the Department of Labor be developed and given ampler funds for carrying on its work.

The supplemental report is signed by Commissioners A. B. Garretson and Frank Walsh, Chairman of the Commission.

"Our signatures are appended to the report of Mr. Basil M. Manly, Director of Research and Investigation of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations submitted to the Commission at its session held in Chicago during the months of July and August, 1915, except that portion of the report recommending a system of mediation, conciliation, investigation and arbitration, applicable to both State and Nation, which proposes to create a commission of three members, together with an advisory council of 20 members, 10 representing employers and 10 representing employes. The entire plan is set forth in the report of the staff as submitted to the Commission on Industrial Relations; also in a report to the Commission by Professor George E. Barnett, and in the report of Commissioner John C. Commons. From these recommendations we dissent for reasons assigned in this statement.

"The evidence submitted to the Commission at public hearings, together with the evidence secured by special investigators, has been fairly set forth in Mr. Manly's report and with even justice to all, whether employers, employes or the public."

CRITICISMS NOT JUSTIFIED.

"Our fellow Commissioners who are representatives of the employers, contend in their statement that the report of Mr. Basil M. Manly for the staff is deficient in that it does not properly present an indictment against labor on the grounds of fostering and promoting violence in trade disputes, jurisdictional disputes accompanied by strikes, limitation of output, sympathetic strikes, contract breaking, apprenticeship rules, refusal to use non-union materials, alleged graft and so forth, and that it does not include these things among the fundamental causes of industrial unrest. All the evidence submitted to the Commission, as we understand and interpret it, proves that these things in so far as they do exist are in no sense causes of industrial unrest, but, on the contrary, are evidences of existing industrial unrest and are evils that are incidental to a situation wherein labor has at times been forced to fight with

such weapons as it could command for advantages and rights that in justice should be freely accorded to the wage earners. So long as labor organizations are forced by employers to fight for the mere right to exist, and so long as wages paid to labor are so low that the unorganized wage earner often sees no choice except that between resorting to such weapons or seeing himself and his family sink below the poverty line, just so long will these evils at times manifest themselves as symptoms of the workers' desperation. The union, fighting for its right to live, is sometimes forced to tolerate acts that would not be countenanced if its entity were secure and its energies were not absorbed in fighting for existence."

STRONG ORGANIZATIONS THE CURE.

"Experience shows that the evils complained of rapidly disappear in labor organizations as soon as the organization prevails over the opposition of the employers and establishes its right to organize. Strong unions mean decent wages, and decent wages raise wage earners to a plane of thought and action where all their acts and mental processes must no longer be directed toward a desperate struggle for the very right of themselves and families to live.

"Organized labor fully realizes how unfortunate it is that labor in its struggle for existence has occasionally been driven to consider its immediate advantage at the expense of the true economic principles that must govern in the long run. All the energies of organized labor's representatives have been exerted to minimize or eliminate any tendency toward limitation of output or jurisdictional disputes, but, at the same time, organized labor insists that these tendencies where they exist are the logical and inevitable outgrowth of evils in industry that can be removed only by trade union action by the wage earners. We could cite evidence at great length to show that the tendencies complained of so far as they exist at all have grown out of the necessities with which labor has been confronted. It is enough here to quote briefly from the testimony of the distinguished economist, Professor Jacob H. Hollander of Johns Hopkins University, given before this Commission in New York City on January 20, 1915. Professor Hollander in discussing the limitation of output said:

" 'We lose sight of the fact that trade unions and unionists are not soldiering in the matter, but they are animated by a very high degree of fraternity in the matter, that they are willing to adopt the same principle if it is a matter of piece work instead of time work, that the endeavor of society should be to bring back industrial conditions from that unwholesome mess into which they have slumped, from this abnormal disproportionate allotment of workers to particular fields in excess of the requirements in those fields. We must without deviating one iota from the proposition which you have stated that it is socially unsound that workmen should do less than they properly could—society should seek to bring about conditions where they will do what they can without involving displacement and unemployment on the part of their fellow workmen.'

"We hold that the report of Mr. Manly contains no statement that is unworthy of credence and that will not bear careful investigation The conclusions and recommendations are warranted by the statement of facts and the accumulated evidence in the hands of the Commission."

THE EVIDENCE.

"All evidence accumulated, whether by special investigators or at public hearings, will be submitted to Congress, and we trust that the people of our country will demand that it be published in full, particularly the following, which are well worth the most careful study by all persons interested in human uplift. The reports cited below have been prepared by competent investigators and were submitted to the Commission after careful investigation and verification by Director Basil M. Manly and by members of the Commission, and are the latest information upon the subjects covered by them: *Evidence Taken at All Public Hearings.*

Causes of Industrial Unrest—by Mr. W. J. Lauck.

Violence in Labor Disputes—by Mr. Luke Grant.

Structural Iron Workers—by Mr. Luke Grant.

Sickness Prevention and Insurance—by Dr. B. S. Warren.

Mediation, Arbitration and Investigation—by Prof Geo. E. Barnett.

Condition of Labor in Principal Industries—by Mr. Edgar Sydenstricker.

Efficiency System in Industry—by Professor Robert F. Hoxie, Mr. John P. Frey and Mr. Robert G. Valentine.

Industrial Education—by Com. John B. Lennon.

Labor Complaints and Claims—by Mr. P. A. Speek.

Trade Union Law—by Mr. J. W. Bryan.

Colorado Situation—by Mr. George P. West.

The Telephone and Telegraph Industry—by Mr. Christopher T. Chenery.

Labor Conditions in Porto Rico—by Mr. Christopher T. Chenery.

Labor Conditions in the Black Hills—by Mr. William P. Harvey.

Labor Conditions in Los Angeles—by Mr. William P. Harvey.

Preliminary Report on the Land Question——by Mr. Charles W. Holman.

Agricultural Labor and Tenancy—by Mr. John L. Coulter.

Unemployment—by Mr. William M. Leiserson.

Extent and Growth of Labor Organizations—by Mr. Lee Wolman.

Injunctions in Labor Disputes—by Mr. Edwin E. Witte.

The Inferior Courts and Police of Paterson, N. J.—by Mr. Redmond S. Brennan and Mr. Patrick F. Gill.

Chinese Exclusion—by Mr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick."

EXTENT OF UNREST.

"The principal duty imposed, under the law creating the Commission, was to seek to ascertain the causes of industrial unrest and offer such recommendations as we believe might alleviate that unrest. There can be no question but that unrest exists, in some instances, to an alarming extent. Thousands and tens of thousands of our people feel that they are deprived, under existing conditions in industry, of an opportunity to secure for themselves and their families a standard of living commensurate with the best ideals of manhood, womanhood and childhood. They resent the fact that the existing system of the distribution of wealth which creates at one end of our industrial scale a few multi-millionaires and at the other end thousands and tens of thousands of men, women and children who are at all times in a situation where they are uncertain as to where their next meal will come from. Hungry, poorly clothed and without the opportunities that a fully rounded life requires, they become filled with a sullen resentment that bodes no good for the future of our Republic.

"We have found men and women who are inclined to ascribe this condition to the fact that the Government exercises no power of mandatory character to prevent strikes and lockouts. Many have been the propositions submitted to us for compulsory arbitration or, at least, compulsory investigation with power to recommend a settlement. Some have proposed an elaborate machinery to be set up by the general Government, and of a similar character by the States, providing for conciliation, mediation, arbitration and investigation, all of which, while without definite compulsory features, establish a legal machinery that must of necessity exercise an influence in that direction.

"The plan for the creation of an industrial commission, both National and State, proposes to assign to a commission of three members the administration of all labor laws of either State or Nation, giving to them powers far in excess of those exercised by the President of the United States, or the Governor of any State. This we believe to be Bureaucracy run mad, and a subversion of Democracy dangerous to the civil and social liberty of all citizens. We hold that all power should be in the final analysis with the people, and we, therefore, dissent from any such plan."

NEW GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY UNWISE.

"The activities of such a Commission supplemented by the proposed advisory committees of employers and labor representatives would be so balanced as to prevent substantial progress, and tend to perpetuate present conditions. Such a

plan conceives of labor and capital as static forces and of the relations between them as always to remain unchanging.

"We believe that the work now being done by the Department of Labor in industry generally, and by the Board of Mediation and Conciliation, dealing with interstate public utilities, is better than any that could be expected of any additional board that has been suggested to this Commission. We believe that the Department of Labor, with further experience and larger appropriations, will develop a high state of efficiency in adjusting labor disputes that are capable of being adjusted by any one other than the parties directly interested, and will adequately carry on the work provided by the law creating the Department of Labor, *to wit:*

"'Section 1. The purpose of the Department of Labor shall be to foster, promote and develop the welfare of the wage earners in the United States, to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment.

"'Section 8. The Secretary of Labor shall have power to act as mediator and to appoint commissioners of conciliation in labor disputes whenever in his judgment the interests of industrial peace require it to be done.'

"We favor the extension of the Newlands Act to cover all employes engaged in interstate commerce, such as the railroad telegraphers, the shop and track men employed by railroads, the employes of express companies, of the Pullman Company, of commercial telegraph and telephone companies, and other public utilities performing interstate service that, in the interest of the Nation, must be continuous.

"The evidence submitted to this Commission is substantially to the effect that where trade union organization exists among the workers, there, at the same time, exists the least amount of industrial unrest of a character that is dangerous to the peace and welfare of our Nation. It is true that the union men and women are not satisfied with their conditions; they are not, however, despondent as to the possibility of securing better conditions; they know what the unions have accomplished, and they have an abiding faith that their further desires can be attained.

"Instead of any elaborate machinery for the prevention of strikes or lockouts we are convinced, from the testimony gathered by this Commission, that the most effectual course that can be pursued to bring about general contentment among the people, based upon a humane standard of living, is the promotion of labor organization. The most casual investigator will soon discover that in those lines of industry where organization of labor is the strongest, there is the least danger of industrial revolt that would endanger the fundamental principles of our Government and the maintenance of a nation with respect for law and order. Where organization is lacking, dangerous discontent is found on every hand; low wages and long hours prevail; exploitation in every direction is practiced; the people become sullen, have no regard for law or government and are, in reality, a latent volcano, as dangerous to society as are the volcanoes of nature to the landscape surrounding them."

THE ONE TRUE REMEDY.

"We, therefore, urge as the great remedy for such unnecessary industrial unrest as we have found, more, and more, and still more, organization of labor and of the employers in each industry as well. The education of the trade unions has been conducive to a higher and better citizenship. In recent years there have come to our assistance scores and hundreds and thousands of people outside the ranks of unionists—ministers, professors, journalists, professional men of all kinds—who have reached the conclusion herein stated, that the most efficient cure for such industrial unrest as should be cured, is union organization.

"We hold that efforts to stay the organization of labor or to restrict the right of employes to organize should not be tolerated, but that the opposite policy should prevail and the organization of the trade unions and of the employers' organizations should be promoted, not, however, for the sole purpose of fighting each other, but for the commendable purpose of collective bargaining and the

establishing of industrial good will. Organizations of employers that have no object in view except to prevent labor having a voice in fixing the conditions of industry under which it is employed, have no excuse for existence, as they are a bar to social tranquillity and a detriment to the economic progress of the country. The evidence before the Commission shows that organized labor has no desire, nor has it attempted, to control the business of the employer. It insists that it has a right to a voice, and a potent voice, in determining the conditions under which it shall work. This attitude, we are sure, will be continued in spite of the opposition of any so-called employers' organizations. This country is no longer a field for slavery, and where men and women are compelled, in order that they may live, to work under conditions in determining which they have no voice, they are not far removed from a condition existing under feudalism or slavery.

"In emphasizing with all the force at our command the necessity of collective action by wage earners through strong organizations, if the problem of industrial unrest is to be solved, we wish again to quote from testimony of Professor Hollander. He undertook to sum up for this Commission those conclusions regarding the solution of this problem that have been reached not by himself, but by the great body of economists in this country and abroad. He said:

" 'The opinion of political economists in so far as I can voice it is that social unrest, which is manifest not only in this country but in every industrial country, is due to the existence of economic want or poverty, if by that we can understand not on the one hand pauperism or on the other hand economic inequality. By poverty I mean the existence of large areas of industrial society in receipt of incomes less than enough to maintain themselves and those dependent upon them in decent existence. We believe that is the consequence, not of any absolute dearth—that the world produces enough to go around, that it is therefore not a question of insufficient production, but of defects in distribution. * * * * There is a view among economists that there is nothing in any current theory of wages that precludes the laborer from obtaining a sufficient wage, and that if he fails it must be in consequence of the fact that he enters into the wage contract on a plane of inequality. The wage contract, in short, is the result of a bargain between the employer and the employe, and if the employer is in a superior competitive position by reason of combination and the laborer is unorganized, he is at a bargaining disadvantage which is certain to redound to his hurt.

'I think political economists accordingly then are in agreement that trade unionism is essential as a means of bringing the workmen into industrial bargaining on a plane of equality.

* * * * * * * * * * *

'You have asked specifically what the remedy (for poverty) is. It means a very decided revolution of opinion as to trade unionism. The general attitude among employers of labor is often open and decided opposition to organized labor. Until society recognizes the unwisdom of that attitude and demands that the laborer must enter into his wage bargain on a plane of competitive equality, society has not lifted its finger to remedy that evil.' "

THE PUBLIC'S DUTY.

"We submit the report of Mr. Basil M. Manly as our report, asking for it the fullest possible consideration by the men and women of our country who are interested in the social and moral uplift of humanity.

"Labor must work out its own salvation. Wage workers can attain that degree of well-being to which they are entitled only by their own efforts. The general public cannot be expected to do for them what they fail to do for themselves, nor would it be desirable that those rights and benefits to which they are entitled should be handed down to them by the Government or by organized society as grace from above. But the general public is vitally interested in the efforts of wage workers to win for themselves equal justice and such a degree of material well-being as will enable them to maintain themselves and their families in comfort, security and health.

Continued on page 13

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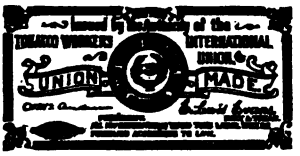

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Editorial.

Our opponents are very prone to speak most uncomplimentary of us and our doings. They like to sneer at our efforts and belittle the results, but they do not seem to realize while they are standing, like old Dobin, looking over the fence at us we are working and growing and thriving on their opposition.

De World do move! So do the trade unions. Have you noted this fact?

The greatest, most humane, liberty-loving and freedom-supporting movement on the face of this earth is the trade union movement. That statement sounds big and strong, but it is a solemn, absolute and indisputable fact. Analysis and comparison will bear out the statement.

If you do not believe it, analyze the question and compare it with other institutions created by man and your answer will be YES.

For months before the final passage of the Child Labor Law in the State of Pennsylvania, and for months after, assertions were made by the Manufacturers' Associations that the State would go to ruin; factory doors would be padlocked with signs written on them, "Closed for lack of help of the Child Laborer." But all of these dire predictions have come to naught. Business, as the proponents of the bill argued, has adjusted itself to the changed conditions, the child is going to school and will get some preparation for its future, and not sap its best free years out in the stuffy air of the factory, and they have a better chance to become citizens worthy of the name.

To the mind which is not satisfied with the desire for half starved and wholly subjugated labor to perpetuate a bidding labor market, the Literacy Test in the immigration bill is the instrument that will give the country a breathing spell that has been badly needed for some years. Conditions promoted by large employers on land and the steamship companies had reached a pass where a slowing down process was absolutely necessary. The congestion in the labor market was not the only thing that was effected, but it was necessary that the country at large should have time to take an accounting of its stock in citizenship and the permanency and character of immigration inflow. The immigration most wanted was not always that which came, but under the existing law we have to take what comes, with a few exceptions.

It is not claimed by the proponents of the Burnett bill that it is perfection itself, but it will offer an opportunity to take a measure of the existing conditions and bring about a readjustment that portends for the good of the country as a whole. The employing class have profits in mind and the keeping down of organization of labor and the organized right of contractual relations between capital

and labor. Capital has an inborn desire to be the dictator as to the amount that labor shall receive, holding that they are in position to know. They forget that that is only one side of the question. They want to sell their product at a large profit and to do so feel that they must hold the whip in hand. Labor, on the other hand, must have the same thing in mind when selling its only natural gift; it must live, not only exist—it has a right to live and care for those it is responsible for and fit them for future citizenship, and provide for the inevitable rainy day and the time when "TIME" incapacitates them for further earning power. This point of view makes it imperative that labor shall have a right in negotiating the price at which it will sell its only God-given asset, "its power and ability to produce and fashion Nature's stores into salable products." There is no other way for the realization of an equalization of proportion in the result of production than through the medium of contractual relations between employer and employed.

That the Burnett immigration bill is becoming to be better understood is quite largely proven by the increasing majority it receives each succeeding time it passes the House of Representatives, which is a reflection of popular sentiment which is growing stronger instead of weaker each time the subject comes up for a hearing and passage. The vote on March 30, when it passed the House, was almost 4 to 1 in favor and was far in excess of any of the previous votes. The immigration bill has had a checkered career, having been safely passed by Congress three times only to be vetoed by the chief executive.

It is to be hoped that the Senate will again pass the bill with a good majority and prove the popularity of the measure in such a way as to make it acceptable to President Wilson who last year vetoed it, and then it failed to find the necessary two-thirds majority to carry it over the head of the President's veto.

In order that the Senate may again know that our position is strongly in favor of the passage of the bill, every Local should write to the Senators of their respective States, asking them to give their support to the bill by voice and vote.

A significant thing to remember is that the vote in the House of Representatives was not of a party character, party lines having been eliminated and the vote was taken on the merits of the bill.

Representative London, the only Socialist member in the House, spoke against it and voted against it.

It is evident that he does not represent the trade unionist point of view, and does not know the real aspirations of the trade union movement.

His presentation of his position gives one the idea that he would be judge and jury himself on such a question and that the voice of the people was not a thing worthy of consideration. From his attitude in the premises it would seem that he will not learn any better as time goes on. We hope, however, that the light will shed itself his way before he leaves Congress.

After a consistent effort covering a period of eighteen years on the part of the Street and Electric Railway Men an organization has been established in Toledo and too, after a strike of two weeks, during which time the people walked, and also during that time there was not an overt act committed, something unusual when a street car strike takes place. This is accounted for by the fact that no strike breakers were imported, which proves the falsity of the oft-repeated statement, that the Street Carmen always bring trouble on themselves when they strike by their roughneck methods. These charges were always denied by the men, but, of course, when the fuss was kicked up and people hurt there seemed to be no one to lay the blame on but the men who had struck their jobs.

The public could only see the damage, and in the smoke of battle could only see the strikers. The real culprits were always veiled behind the public press and the statements of the Street Car Company, who brought in the human snakes—the scum of the under world, whose duties were to breed trouble at every

corner, and beat it, laying the blame on the men who were looking for a betterment of their conditions and those dependent upon them. Not long since, when an effort was being made to organize the Carmen of Toledo, the organizers were followed day and night by a gang of these human lepers in the hope of finding an opportune time to put the organizers out of business. The time did not come and the scabs got in their work and very nearly succeeded in the task set for them.

Treasurer Resin Orr was on the job. The gang put him out for a while, but only for a while, and he has lived to see the fruition of his work in the organization of Toledo and in many other cities.

Why it was that strike breakers were not imported in the Toledo strike is best known to the Company themselves, but of late years the strike breaking idea has not left a pretty taste in the public's mouth and mind. The people have come to understand the purpose of the importation of these brigands, and have protested against having more of the leperous earth scum brought into their city, to defile its sacred preceincts. President Eliot's eulogistic terms of the strike breaker never met with popular comment, except in his own class, and they, like him, did not know what they were talking about.

Like all dirty, unholy ways of doing things, the strike breakers contained the germs of their own destruction. Their day came like the sun bursting through a cloud; they rose to their highest level and are fading away with the setting of their own beclouded and dirt-bespattered light.

The profane instruments that conceived the unholy strike breaking traffic made their pile out of the pockets of stockholders of the Street Railway Companies and others who rented the gangs of thieves to be used in defeating the righteous ends of peaceable law-abiding citizens. The cost to the stockholders was never less than twice as much per man for the strike breakers as the wages paid to the regular men. In addition to this, the cost to the citizens of the city into which the scum was floated seldom becomes public property.

It is to be hoped that the passing of this scum-floating is of a permanent character, never to be revived or to be succeeded by anything equally as dirty, as it can only be measured by the dirt it moved from place to place and contaminated every place it lodged, even for the shortest possible time.

In the present Congress there is now a group which has been designated as the labor group; it numbers nearly a score. Brother Worker, have you ever thought that it is with the assistance and influence of the members of this little group that we have been able to get what legislation that has been for our good?

If you have not thought of it, just ponder for a while on a short mathematical problem: "If a score of labor's representatives can do so much, how much more could two(2) score do?" If you do not know it now, just think of it between now and nomination time. We need no less than two score of labor's representatives in Congress to be an influence for greatest good. Look around and consult with your fellow unionists and decide what is the best you can do.

Labor has just as much brains as the other fellow, but his trouble is he does not use it to best advantage and at the right time. Labor is too often asleep while the other fellow is working.

If we are to get out of this world of ours that which we are entitled we must work for it. Take opportunity on the wing; look around in your districts; note what you have got in the shape of a representative in Congress. If he is good, get in behind him again, give him some encouragement for the efforts he has put forth. And if the one you have does not represent, find one that does, and get in behind him. His politics does not "cut much ice." It is the man who will look for labor's interest that you want.

Did it ever occur to you that every other industrial and financial interest has their representative on the job? And do you know that these interests beat you to it when they elect their Representative or Senator?

In nearly every Congressional district

in this country there is an opportunity to have a man representing labor in Congress, but you cannot get him without working for him. You often hear the assertion made, "Oh, what is the use in our trying to beat So-and-so? He has a cinch." Perhaps he seems to have, but has he? Put this little resolution under your hat band and let it work overtime: "WE WANT FORTY CONGRESSMEN TO REPRESENT LABOR IN THE NEXT CONGRESS." Let it sink in until it becomes a reality; make it a habit of thinking about it and talking about it and Opportunity will come a-knocking at the door and you may be most agreeably surprised at the message he will have for you.

Remember we want two (2) score, or forty (40), Congressmen and Senators in the labor group in the next Congress.

The nominations will soon be on where elections take place this year and election day will be here in jig time and so there is no time to lose. Think first and action naturally follows.

The truth coming out from under a tub hurts the ones it adversely affects worse than if the cover were taken off and it allowed to come out boldly into the light of day.

There are a number of persons in high places who do not want the report of the Commission on Industrial Relations to become public property and are sitting on the lid ("The Senate") trying to prevent it from tipping even a little bit. The question is, can we get enough pressure under the lid to lift it and those who are decorating it from ulterior motives? They are afraid of the great string of facts and truths that are tucked away in the Commission's report, and all first hand in sworn testimony, from persons from behind the plow, to the great magnates behind the great corporations. Truth will out if given its time, even under the most trying circumstances; so agony will be less prolonged if allowed to come out in open court and will be over and done with, and the reforms that must come from it whether or no may be well on the way.

The American Press is somewhat divided on this issue. Some few papers are supporting the passage of the resolution authorizing the printing of 100,000 copies of the report and 10,000 copies of the testimony. The majority of them, however, who voice the sentiments of those sitting on the lid are using their columns in the hope of holding the lid down. Labor and all other humane-loving citizens are openly advocating the passage of the resolution so that the rays of the sunlight of public opinion may get in and purify the rotten, cankerous social conditions that are hidden in the testimony. And why should a section of the press, which at times makes eagle screams when issues are suitable to its policy, take a back seat on an issue wherein the good of the public is at stake.

There are a large number of employers who gave testimony before the Commission, and in which they owned up under pressure of well put questions that their methods of dealing with labor could not get humane sanction, and these same individuals are so ashamed of the press deleted exposures that they are in mortal fear that the whole thing will come out and cast a cloud shadow on their social and business standing. One can see why some of the fellows prefer to keep these records from further review, but that should not be accepted by our legislators when plain justice stands in waiting to take her proper place for the good of the people as a whole.

The greatest strikes the world has ever seen were for freedom and liberty; and oh, the prices that have been paid for such freedom and liberty as we have circumscribed as it still is. These two great prizes, so dearly bought, may be divided into many subdivisions, each one of which has been fought for with the shedding of much blood and attended by so many sufferings. The most practical and potent of any of the subdivisions is industrial freedom, for without it the others may not be properly dignified by that sacred appellation. For a proper realization of industrial freedom the worker must have a voice in the selling of his labor; he must be at liberty and have the freedom to make a price at which he may and will sell the only thing he has to offer in

return for his support and that of those dependent upon him. His skill as an artisan in any calling is just as much needed in the progress of the world as the capitalist's money, which is a result of the worker's skill, the major part of which the worker has been deprived because of the lack of industrial freedom. From the worker's point of view the only real freedom that is worth while is industrial freedom, out of which will spring all the other subdivisions, together with the liberty of enjoying it. The people of a nation who live under a restrained liberty are not free in any sense.

The Label Trades Section, of St. Louis, gives its affiliated locals the privilege of using the title page for a label display, together with a message to the members on the importance of giving their patronage individually to the union labeled products. In the month of March, Local No. 1 has a cut of the label in colors, together with the following message, which is commended to the attention of all our readers. It is worth reading and gives some good pointers to ponder on:

THE LABEL OF THE TOBACCO WORKERS.

"Have you, Mister Union Man, insisted that the tobacco you buy bears this label? If not, why not? Tobacco workers need your support; also that of your fellow man. They are entitled to it, and you should give it to them by demanding the Tobacco Workers' Union Label when you purchase tobacco or cigarettes."

"Why should you, Mister Union Man, be ashamed to ask for it? If you are, you are not a good union man—merely a card man. Doesn't that union-made garment make a noise when you put a package of non-union tobacco or cigarettes in it? If it doesn't, it should. Union-made tobacco and cigarettes can be had if the request for same is made. Be consistent. If you want the other fellow to demand your label, hasn't he the same right to insist that you return the favor and insist that you demand his label?"

"The union label, fellow workers, is the most powerful weapon the worker has. Demand it; preach it; and live it; and remember, that not only the Tobacco Workers demand your support, but all other unions as well."

FROM COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

[For immediate release.]

The best group of Representatives in this present Congress is the Labor Group.

There are only about a score in number, but considering their number they are the most effective men in Congress. In the five or six years it has been in existence this gradually growing group has been the driving force, so far as Congress itself is concerned, behind all legislation in the real interest of the people. Working quietly and with only a handful of members, this group is today the most hopeful thing under the dome of the Capitol. Yet its existence today is only a prophecy, not a fulfillment of what can be accomplished.

If labor was represented by at least fifty men in the next Congress the Labor Group would hold the balance of power. They could compel legislation for the rights of labor. They could prevent the passage of bills to grab the public wealth and to monopolize natural resources.

Every special interest antagonistic to Labor has the fullest representation in Congress it can get. The banks, the railroads, the political machines, the steel and oil and coal trusts have their groups —and all these unite in one general group against the rights of those whose labor in factories and on the railroads and on the farms produce the wealth they covet.

Why should not the organized labor movement, the trade unions and the organizations of farmers and farmworkers put their own representatives in Congress?

Benjamin Franklin wrote:

"He who by the plow would thrive
Himself must hold the plow or drive.

If labor is to plow its right furrow in Congress it must hold the plow or drive.

Labor need not draw political party lines in nominating its Congressional candidates and in electing them. So a man is pledged to Labor and will always keep the interests of Labor to the front, that man would be a member of the

Labor group whatever party ticket Labor had put him on and elected him on.

The time is short for action. There are great issues before the country—preparedness, taxation to meet large additional expenditures, the right of Labor to organize and to bargain collectively without suppression by privately controlled militia and gunmen.

If Labor is to have a potent voice in determining these issues its voice in Congress must be its own voice.

SUPPLEMENTAL FINDINGS, ETC.

Continued from page 7

Society's interest in the triumph of labor's cause should spring not only from the love of justice and the human sympathy that animates every good citizen, but from a realization that industrial and social evils menacing large groups of the population cannot continue without eventually bringing disaster to society as a whole. While inviting the aid of every good citizen, we, as representatives of organized labor, urge that this aid be directed not solely to seeking new legislation or new Governmental machinery designed as a cure-all, but to giving moral support to labor's own efforts, and insisting that trade unions be fostered and encouraged as the most effective agencies making for the wage workers' progress."

"OUR LOCAL'S BUSTIN' UP."

Or a Box of Jolts and the Need of Starch

[From Toledo Union Leader.]

"Our local's bustin' up," remarked a card-carrier in one of our local towns.

"It's what?" I asked.

"Going all to pieces."

"How's that?"

"Aw, this bunch that's been trying to run things have made a mess of the whole proposition."

"How so?"

"Well, you know, running a local needs somebody with some sense."

"It sure does."

"The clique that's been running things around here don't know enough to come in out of the wet, far less run a local."

"Well, how about the rest of you?"

"Oh, the majority of the boys are like myself. They got disgusted long ago and don't bother much about it. This other crowd wants to be the whole bill-offare, from soup to nuts, so we just let them go to it."

"Some bunch you have."

"Well, you know how it is. You get a few fellows into a local. They pull together. Everything goes under the one hat. If you're not one of the gang, well, you're not asked to sit down. They just make motions, second them, and over they go. The rest of us don't get a look-in."

"Brother, come again. Elucidate to your wondering pal how it is that one little clique, as you call it, runs the local. Don't you vote on the questions which come before the union?"

"Sure, but they hold all the offices."

"Well, what's that got to do with it?"

"Oh, they're some politicians up here. When the inner circle wants to put anything over, they have a nice little caucus before they come into the meeting. The old steam-roller stuff. One of them takes the floor, makes his little talk, another O. K.'s it and the motion is carried. It doesn't matter whether it's right or wrong, it goes through."

"Well, if the rest of you don't want it why do you vote for it?"

"We don't."

"Stand back. A little air, please. That's far enough; thank you. Now repeat. How does it happen if the majority are not in favor of a motion the minority puts it over regardless?"

"They always have their crowd out to every meeting."

"Now, you said something."

"What?"

"It's the old story, pardner. The 'wise majority' don't come out to the meetings. They don't risk their reputations as members of the owl family by suggesting or taking part in the constructive work of the local. Oh, no! It's safer and so much easier to 'let George do it.' If George makes a slip, you can pan him and come back with the old wallop: 'I told you so.' Isn't that right?"

What's the good of going to all the meetings? They're running the local.

If the rest of us butted in, there would just be arguments, a lot of trouble, and the fellow who took the floor against anything they wanted would probably lose his job."

"Kind brother, just come up under this arc light. That's fine. You look perfectly human, thoroughly sound in mind, body and limb. Gee, but you have me doing the whirl. You are a union man. Certainly you are. 'Peace at any price,,' eh? Some box of jolts you have handed me. Let me offer you a few thinks that possibly haven't found their way into your headgear. Don't you know, pal, that the fellow who gets anywhere in this dear, delightful old world of ours has got to fight? You've got to fight from the day you're born until you disappear over the 'Great Divide.' You've got to fight to earn your bread whether you want to or not. You've got to fight your weakness to be a man. Let that one rest in a prominent location in your upper apartment. Call on it often. Man alive, that's why life is the greatest game of all. It's a battle. There's an even chance to win. Either you're a soldier or a quitter. God Almighty put you here to do your share. If you sidestep, you're cheating. There's no one out to 'get you,' they are too busy getting theirs. Your share is theer. Go get it. Don't sit on the fence and look on. Get into the running. It's worth the exertion. Pardner, hustle right down the street, turn in at that corner grocery and take home a box of starch. Apply it to your spinal column. Stiffen it up. When that operation has been successfully completed, straighten up before the looking-glass in the little old 'hall-room.' Look yourself over. You're there. Don't wait for New Years. Do it now! Resolve that from now on you're going to do your share. Make up your mind to be out to the meetings. Do your talking on the floor, not on the street corner or in the barroom. Stick to your task. You'll be welcomed. The boys will see you are fighting with them, not against them. All the world loves a worker. Don't waste you effort 'panning the bunch. They're out there on the firing line scrapping your scrap. Tighten your belt, jump into the trench and fight with them. They need you. You need them. Every good soldier counts. Just jot down in your little book that the fellows who are building up the local, fighting the local's difficulties and holding the organization together deserve the credit. Sure, they'll make mistakes, plenty of them, but give them their due, they're doing their best. Don't ever forget it's those boys who are the backbone of your union. They're the fellows who walk out and suffer the hardships of unemployment rather than see their union go down. They are the busy little bees of the union hive who bring home the honey you drones enjoy. Don't be a card-carrier any longer, Sport; be a union man. Be loyal to those who are protecting your interests. Work for those who are working for you and always remember they who serve will be served. Your local's not bustin' up. You're in a trance. Come out of that 'Rip Van Winkle.' Get that 'majority' together, and 'watch 'er grow.' So long, Brother. Don't forget the starch."

TIM.

"Hello, old man! Have you had any luck shooting?" "I should say I did! I shot seventeen ducks in one day." "Were they wild?" Well, no—not exactly; but the farmer was!"

AND THE NURSE WAS OFFENDED.

Doctor—Well, Casey, are the eyes improving?

Patient—Sure, they are, sir.

Doctor—Can you see better? Can you see the nurse now?

Patient—Sure, I can, sir. Faith, she gets plainer and plainer ivery day.

HE PROBABLY KEPT STILL.

"I see you have your arm in a sling," said the inquisitive passenger. "Broken, isn't it?"

"Yes sir," responded the other passenger.

"Meet with an accident?"

"No; broke it while trying to pat myself on the back."

"Great Scot! What for?"

"For minding my own business."

LABOR IS NOT A COMMODITY.

ALBANY, N. Y.—State Senator Wagner wants the legislature to enact the Clayton law declaration that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." He has introduced an amendment to the anti-trust laws to this effect. Senator Wagner sees the difference between labor power and a commodity, so continually urged by the American Federation of Labor and which was finally accepted by Congress. In explaining his bill, Senator Wagner said:

"The bill which I introduced provides that the labor of a human being shall not be deemed to be a commodity or article of commerce. A proper regard for the rights of labor demands its passage. Its purpose is to revest in the workingman rights and privileges which are guaranteed to him by every declaration of rights from the Declaration of Independence down to the present hour. It was never the intention of legislatures or Congress, in my opinion, to take away these rights, but by judicial construction and the evolution of industrial theories it has been held that our anti-trust laws prohibit the laborer from effective and combined action in the common interest of labor. Where the law provides that monopolies in the commodities of life are illegal, it has been erroneously assumed that labor is a commodity and therefore that combinations for the purpose of controlling labor are illegal. My amendment corrects this assumption. Under it the working man is given the right to combine with his fellows for the common protection of all and to control the labor market in such a way as to secure justice and a livelihood. The bill is in the opposite direction to that economic theory which holds that human beings are chattels and that the labor of a human being is an article of commerce in the same class with merchandise. The bill recognizes the difference between the products of man and man himself—the producer. The bill distinguishes humanity from marketable commodities and asserts that a class of legislation which refers to cattle and merchandise cannot in the twentieth century be made to apply to men and women. Congress has already recognized the principle embodied in my bill in the enactment of the Clayton law."

TRADE UNIONS DEFINED.

Some union men are born, some made and others are just unionists—that's all.

The first is the man whom you will find a leader among his fellowmen. He's the man who does the real work; he takes up the battles of the unionist's principle, and fights with all his might; he knows no fear; is always in the front rank when a general is needed and is devoid of all selfish motives in what he does. He is the strength of the union.

The "made" union man is he who holds a card because he is compelled to do so. If he should lose his job he would be perfectly willing to give up his card. In other words, he is satisfied to accept conditions as they are. Such a man is a faker. He's a fraud. He carries a card under false pretenses.

The latter class is better out of the union than in it. He's the man who pays his dues under protest; seldom if ever attends a meeting of his local, objects when called upon for a special assessment or donation to help his fellowmen in trouble; and invariably grumbles about everything in general and is never satisfied with anything in particular. This class acts as the greatest handicap to the progerss of union labor.

What class are you in? Think this over.—Exchange.

HER RECOMMENDATION.

Former Mistress—I would like to give you a good recommendation, Eliza, but my conscience compels me to state that you never get the meals ready at the proper time. I wonder how I can put it in a nice sort of way.

Eliza—You might say that I got the meals the same as I got my pay.

"And aren't ye afraid o' gettin' killed?" said Mrs. Murphy to Pat O'Brien, who had just joined the army.

"Sure, an' phawt of it," he muttered proudly, "it's me living ain't it?"

WAR.

War is hell, no matter what
The fire within that makes it hot!
Masters, by their devious ways,
Light the red, destructive blaze!
Talk of God and righteousness;
What are they in this distress?
Talk about the soldier's fame;
Talk about the glory game;
Tell us it is good to die
That a flag may float on high;
Tell us lofty sentiments
Grow from blood and pestilence;
Tell us corpses, strewn around,
Change the soil to hallowed ground;
Tell us burning houses light
Straying patriots towards the right;
Tell us starving children wail
Only when their armies fail;
Tell us how great victories bless
The widows and the fatherless;
Tell us that the men who died
Are the country's joy and pride;
Tell us—
The simple truth is
War is hell!

—W. J. Lampton in the *Christian Herald.*

STARTING TROUBLE.

"Why is it that the attendants in telephone offices are all women?" Mrs. Brown made this inquiry of her husband.

"Well," answered Mr. Brown, "the managers of the telephone offices are aware that no class of attendants work so faithfully as those who are in love with their labor; and they know that women would be fond of the work in telephone offices."

"What is the work in a telephone office?" Mrs. Brown further inquired.

"Talking," answered Mr. Brown. And that conversation came to end and a different kind of a conversation began.

NOT SO HEAVY.

"It would please me very much, Miss Stout," said Mr. Mugley, "if you would go to the theatre with me this evening."

"Have you secured the seats?" inquired Miss Vera Stout.

"Oh, come now," he protested, "you're not so heavy as all that."

PROGRESSIVE.

Postmaster—No, not much doin' in taown. Did yer hear erbout Lem Huggins getting a telegram?

Farmer—Not Lem?

Postmaster—Yes, Lem.

Farmer—By cricky! It beats all, ther way the young fellers are forgin' ter the front.

"DEMAND" FOR WRONGDOERS.

It is pointed out by the Russian paper "Saratovsky Listoc" that a number of war industries ordinarily carried out by the inmates of prisons have now had to be stopped because some of the prisons are almost empty and the journal ironically calls for volunteers.

A FALSE NOTE.

"I hear you ca-a-lling me," warbled daughter from the parlor.

"Yes," sang mother from the kitchen. "I want you to come here and help me with the dis-s-shes."

And then a profound silence reigned.

PLENTY OF ASSETS.

"The lawyer next door had been forced into bankruptcy with big liabilities but no assets to speak of." "Why, a lawyer's assets are his liabilities."

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Shop Card (REGISTERED) **LABEL**

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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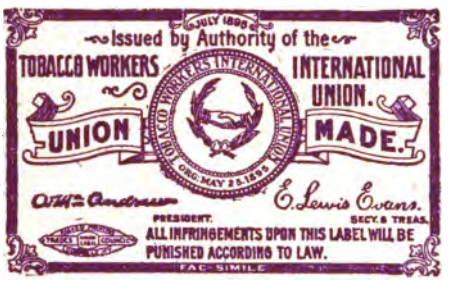
PUBLISHED MONTHLY

THE TOBACCO WORKER



OFFICIAL MAGAZINE

OF THE

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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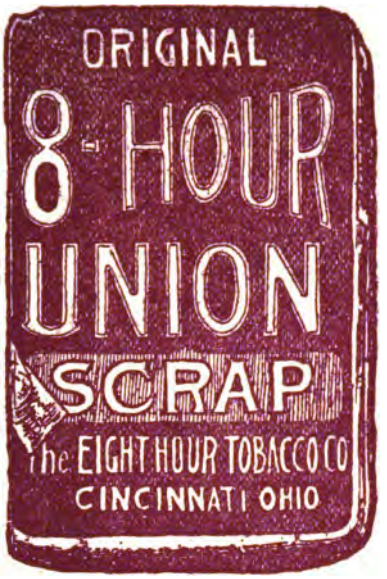
LOUISVILLE, KY.

JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY, LOUISVILLE, KY.



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ENJOY A GOOD SMOKE

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You will find them different from other cigarettes. Far finer in flavor and aroma than anything you have ever smoked before.

Our "FIFTH AVENUE" cigarettes are UNION MADE and each package bears the UNION LABEL!

We do not give silk or rug value, but we do give Tobacco Value!

We guarantee our "FIFTH AVENUE" cigarettes to contain absolutely 100 per cent of pure, Turkish Tobacco — not Turkish mixture, but PURE TURKISH!

Do your duty, Mr. Union Man, by trying a package of cigarettes to-day. If your dealer does not keep them, let us know. Free samples to all secretaries of the Unions. Write to-day!

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JUN 22 1916

The Tobacco Worker.

Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 May, 1916 No. 5

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THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

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Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

THIRD SECTION OF REPORT OF BASIL M. MANLY,

Director of Research and Investigation, Containing Findings of Fact and Recommendations of the Staff.

Report in full accepted and ordered printed by resolution of Commission. Adopted by Commissioners Frank P. Walsh, John B. Lennon, James O'Connell and Austin B. Garretson.

Evidence in support of the statement that the lives of millions of wage earners are subject to the dictation of a relatively small number of men, is cited at length in the third and final section, made public today, of the report of Basil M. Manly, Director of Research and Investigation for the United States Commission on Industrial Relations.

The following allegations are made as statement of fact based on the testimony and evidence in the hands of the Commission:

"Except, perhaps, for improvements in safety and sanitation, the labor conditions of corporation-controlled industries are subject to grave criticism and are a menace to the welfare of the Nation.

"In order to prevent the organization of employes for the improvement of working conditions, elaborate systems of espionage are maintained by the larger corporations which refuse to deal with labor unions, and employes suspected of union affiliation are discharged.

"The domination by the men in whose hands the final control of a large part of American industry rests is not limited to their employes, but is being rapidly extended to control the education and 'social service' of the Nation.

"This control is being extended largely through the creation of enormous privately managed funds for indefinite purposes, hereinafter designated 'foundations,' by the endowment of colleges and universities, by the creation of funds for the pensioning of teachers, by contributions to private charities as well as through controlling or influencing the public press."

The Rockefeller Foundation's entrance into the field of industrial relations, through the creation of a special division, it is declared, "constitutes a menace to the national welfare to which the attention not only of Congress, but of the entire country, should be directed. Backed by the $100,000,000 of the Rockefeller Foundation, this movement has the power to influence the entire country in the determination of its most vital policy."

Mr. Rockefeller is charged with planning to utilize literature which was known to him at the time to be untrue and misleading in a so-called "non-educational campaign."

There is developing, says the report, a degree of control over the teaching of professors in our colleges and universities, which constitutes a most serious menace.

URGES CONGRESS TO ACT.

Congress is urged to enact a statute providing that all incorporated non-profit-making bodies, whose present charters empower them to perform more than a single specific function and whose funds exceed $100,000,000, shall be compelled to secure a Federal charter.

The charter, it is urged, should contain provision limiting the funds, definitely

and exactly specifying the powers, providing rigid inspection of finance, providing complete publicity, and providing that no line of work not specifically mentioned in the articles of incorporation shall be entered upon without the unanimous consent and approval of the Board of Trustees nor unless Congress is directly informed of such intention.

Congress is further urged to make provision for a thorough investigation of all endowed institutions both secular and religious, whose property holdings or income exceeds a moderate amount.

The third recommendation touching upon the work of foundations is that Governmental activity along the lines of education and social service should be increased as the only effective means of counteracting the influence of the foundations as long as they are permitted to exist.

The report says in full regarding concentration of wealth:

"The evidence developed by the hearings and investigations of the Commission is the basis for the following statements:

"1. The control of manufacturing, mining and transportation industries is to an increasing degree passing into the hands of great corporations through stock ownership, and control of credit is centralized in a comparatively small number of enormously powerful financial institutions.

"These financial institutions are in turn dominated by a very small number of powerful financiers.

"2. The final control of American industry rests, therefore, in the hands of a small number of wealthy and powerful financiers.

"3. The concentration of ownership and control is greatest in the basic industries upon which the welfare of the country must finally rest.

"4. With few exceptions each of the great basic industries is dominated by a single large corporation, and where this is not true, the control of the industry through stock ownership in supposedly independent corporations and through credit is almost, if not quite, as potent.

"5. In such corporations, in spite of the large number of stockholders, the control through actual stock ownership rests with a very small number of persons. For example, in the United States Steel Corporation, which had in 1911 approximately 100,000 shareholders, 1.5 per cent. of the stockholders held 57 per cent. of the stock, while the final control rested with a single private banking house.

"Similarly in the American Tobacco Co., before the dissolution, 10 stockholders owned 60 per cent. of the stock.

"6. Almost without exception the employes of the large corporations are unorganized, as a result of the active and aggressive 'non-union' policy of the corporation managements.

"Furthermore, the labor policy of the large corporations almost inevitably determines the labor policy of the entire industry.

EXTENT OF CONTROL.

"7. A careful and conservative study shows that the corporations controlled by six financial groups and affiliated interests employ 2,651,684 wage earners and have to total capitalization of $19,875,200,000. These six financial groups control 28 per cent. of the total number of wage earners engaged in the industries covered by the report of our investigation. The Morgan-First National Bank group alone controls corporations employing 785,499 wage earners. That this control is effective is shown by the following telegram from J. P. Morgan to E. H. Gary:

"'AIX LES BAINS.

"'E. H. Gary, New York.

"'Have received your cable yesterday. My own views are in accordance with those of the financial committee in New York. Certainly until question of wages has been settled by the coal and railroads, which still in abeyance but settlement seems imminent. Whole question wages should be settled simultaneously by all interests if possible. Going Paris Wednesday. Will see there N. C. F., P. A. B. W., and will cable you result of interview. If possible and meets your approval, think better wait until after interview. Perfectly delightful here. Weather superb. J. P. M.'

"8. The lives of millions of wage earners are, therefore, subject to the dic-

tation of a relatively small number of men.

"9. These industrial dictators for the most part are totally ignorant of every aspect of the industries which they control, except the finances, and are totally unconcerned with regard to the working and living conditions of the employes in those industries. Even if they were deeply concerned, the position of the employes would be merely that of the subjects of benevolent industrial despots.

"10. Except, perhaps, for improvements in safety and sanitation, the labor conditions of these corporation-controlled industries are subject to grave criticism, and are a menace to the welfare of the Nation.

"11. In order to prevent the organization of employes for the improvement of working conditions, elaborate systems of espionage are maintained by the large corporations which refuse to deal with labor unions, and employes suspected of union affiliation are discharged.

"12. The domination by the men in whose hands the final control of a large part of American industry rests is not limited to their employes, but is being rapidly extended to control the education and 'social service' of the Nation.

"13. This control is being extended largely through the creation of enormous privately managed funds for indefinite purposes, hereinafter designated 'foundations,' by the endowment of colleges and universities, by the creation of funds for the pensioning of teachers, by contributions to private charities, as well as through controlling or influencing the public press.

"14. Two groups of the 'foundations,' namely, the Rockefeller and Carnegie Foundations, together have funds amounting to at least $250,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of at least $13,500,000, which is at least twice as great as the appropriations of the Federal Government for similar purposes, namely, education and social service.

"15. The funds of these foundations are exempt from taxation, yet during the lives of the founders are subject to their dictation for any purpose other than for commercial profit. In the case of the Rockefeller group of foundations, the absolute control of the funds and of the activities of the institutions now in perpetuity rests with Mr. Rockefeller, his son, and whomsoever they may appoint as their successors.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION.

"16. The control of these funds has been widely published as being in the hands of eminent educators and public-spirited citizens. In the case of the Rockefeller foundations, however, not only is the control in the hands of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and two of the members of the personal staff of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who constitute the finance committee, but the majority of the trustees of the funds are salaried employes of Mr. Rockefeller or the foundations, who are subject to personal dictation and may be removed at any moment.

"17. The funds of the foundations are largely invested in securities of corporations dominant in American industry, whose position has been analyzed under the early headings of this section. The policies of these foundations must inevitably be colored, if not controlled, to conform to the policies of such corporations.

"18. The funds of the foundations represent largely the results either of the exploitation of American workers through the payment of low wages or of the exploitation of the American public through the exaction of high prices. The funds, therefore, by every right, belong to the American people.

"19. The powers of these foundations are practically unlimited, except that they may not directly engage in business for profit. In the words of President Schurman of Cornell, himself a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation:

"20. The charters of these foundations, with their almost unlimited powers, were granted under conditions of such laxity that it has been testified by an eminent legal authority who made an extensive investigation that those granted by New York State are legally defective and unconstitutional. Furthermore, evidence developed by the hearings of the Commission showed that in increasing the number of its trustees without com-

plying with the requirements of the law governing corporations, the Rockefeller Foundation has already been guilty of a breach of the law.

"21. These foundations are subject to no public control, and their powers can be curbed only by the difficult process of amending or revoking their charters. Past experience, as for example, in the case of the insurance companies, indicates that the public can be aroused only when the abuses have become so great as to constitute a scandal.

"22. The entrance of the foundations into the field of industrial relations, through the creation of a special division by the Rockefeller Foundation, constitutes a menace to the national welfare to which the attention not only of Congress but of the entire country should be directed. Backed by the $100,000,000 of the Rockefeller Foundation, this movement has the power to influence the entire country in the determination of its most vital policy.

BASIS NOT SOCIAL.

"23. The documentary evidence in the possession of the Commission indicates:

"a. That the so-called 'investigation of industrial relations' has not, as is claimed, either a scientific or a social basis, but originated to promote the industrial interests of Mr. Rockefeller. The original letter inviting Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King to associate himself with the Rockefellers stated that Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Greene in 'their purely corporate capacity as owners and directors of large industries' desired his aid.

'b. That the investigation forms part of what Mr. Rockefeller, in a letter to Mr. Ivy L. Lee (the press agent of the Colorado operators), called the 'union educational campaign,' which is referred to by Mr. Bowers as 'the fight for the open shop,' the results of which are clearly manifested in the conditions existing in the camps of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, conducted on the 'open shop' principle.

"c. That Mr. Rockefeller planned to utilize in this campaign literature containing statements which were known to him at the time to be untrue and misleading (as for example the numerous misstatements in the 'Sermon to Young Men' of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, including the statement that the Colorado operators offered to recognize the miners' union), and also literature containing statements which constituted a malicious libel upon a large body of American citizens—for example, the following statement of Prof. John J. Stevenson: 'Labor unions defy the law but are ever ready to demand its protection; their principles are no better than those of the India Thugs, who practiced robbery and murder in the name of the goddess Cali.'

"d. That the investigation of industrial relations is not being made in good faith, inasmuch as its director states that he will not now nor hereafter make public his findings regarding a most important part of his investigation, namely, the investigation in Colorado.

"24. The purpose of Mr. Rockefeller to influence the public press is clearly shown by the employment of an experienced publicity expert as a member of his personal staff, and is indicated by his evident interest in the ownership of control of a number of publications, of which we have records dating from the inquiry of his secretary regarding the *Pueblo Star Journal* in May, 1913, to the extensive conferences regarding a loan of $125,000 to finance *The Nation's Business*, the organ of the National Chamber of Commerce, which was established and given a semi-official status through the instrumentalities of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor with the sanction of a former president of the United States.

EXTENT OF INFLUENCE.

"25. The extent of the possible influence of these foundations and private endowments of institutions for education and public service is shown by a large amount of evidence in the possession of the Commission. The following examples may be cited:

"a. The adoption of a definite line of policy by the Bureau of Municipal Research of New York to meet the conditions imposed by Mr. Rockefeller in connection with proposed contributions.

"b. The abandonment by several colleges and universities of sectarian affilia-

tions and charter clauses relating to religion in order to secure endowments from the Carnegie Corporation and pensions for professors from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. It would seem conclusive that if an institution will willingly abandon its religious affiliations through the influence of these foundations, it will even more easily conform to their will any other part of its organization or teaching.

CONTROL OF COLLEGES.

"26. Apart from these foundations there is developing a degree of control over the teachings of professors in our colleges and universities which constitutes a most serious menace. In June of this year two professors, known throughout their professions as men of great talent and high character, were dropped from the positions they had occupied and no valid reason for such action was made public. Both were witnesses before the Commission, and made statements based upon their own expert knowledge and experience which were given wide publicity. One was a professor of law in a state university, who had acted as counsel for the strikers in Colorado; the other a professor of economics, who had not only been active in fights in behalf of child labor legislation and other progressive measures but had recently published a work comparing the income paid for property ownership with the income paid for all classes of service.

"In the case of the state university we know that the coal operators in conjunction with other business interests had gained the ascendancy and exercised a great degree of control over the former Governor of the State, that the coal operators were bitterly opposed to the professor in question, and that the dismissal of the professor had been publicly urged by the operators upon numerous occasions, and we have the uncontroverted statement of the professor that he had been warned that if he testified before the Commission he would not be reappointed. In the case of the professor in the other university (which, though privately endowed, receives large appropriations from the State) we know that its trustees are interested in corporations which have bitterly opposed progressive legislation, and are men whose incomes are derived from property ownership and not from service.

"In the face of such an enormous problem one can only frankly confess inability to suggest measures which will protect the Nation from the grave dangers described. It is believed, however, that if Congress will enact the measures already recommended, providing for a heavy tax on large inheritances with a rigid limitation on the total amount of the bequest, for the reclamation by the Federal Government of all parts of the public domain (including mineral rights) which have been secured by fraud, and for a tax on non-productive land and natural resources, a great step in the right direction will have been taken.

"As regards the 'foundations' created for unlimited general purposes and endowed with enormous resources, their ultimate possibilities are so grave a menace, not only as regards their own activities and influence but also the benumbing effect which they have on private citizens and public bodies, that if they could be clearly differentiated from other forms of voluntary altruistic effort, it would be desirable to recommend their abolition. It is not possible, however, at this time to devise any clear-cut definition upon which they can be differentiated.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

"As the basis for effective action, it is suggested that the Commission recommend:

"1. The enactment by Congress of a statute providing that all incorporated non-profit-making bodies whose present charters empower them to perform more than a single specific function and whose funds exceed one million dollars, shall be required to secure a Federal charter.

"The Federal charter should contain the following provisions:

"a. Definite limitation of the funds to be held by any corporation, at least not to exceed the largest amount held by any at the time of the passage of the act.

"b. Definite and exact specifications of the powers and functions which the or-

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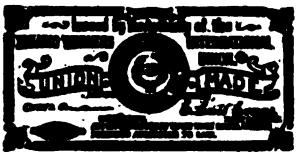

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Editorial.

The fact that at the meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers just closed in New York the suggestion was made and urged that the N. A. M. be made a business men's organization, gives rise to the suggestion that heretofore it has not been an association of men of business with business men's knowledge.

During the progress of the Seamen's bill in its passage through Congress, the shipping interests conjured up all sorts of disaster for American shipping should the Seamen's bill become a law. It has been a law for some months now, and the reverse of the contentions of the shipping interests seems to have taken place. Instead of disaster we now hear of millions being invested in the shipping business, American interests buying ship lines and having new vessels built to be put into commission as soon as they are ready for sea. La Follette's bill will not have the thorns that the Antis so vociferously stated would be the means of driving the shipping business out of the United States. Under it the Seamen may now be men and not slaves, and can call their lives their own and not have a fear to stand up for their rights and humane treatment while en voyage.

Did it ever occur to you that when a demand is made upon an employer by those in his employ, the first thing he thinks of is what power is there behind the demand? He calls up the heads of departments to learn whether the men are organized or not. When he hears a reply in the negative his face relaxes and a smile takes the place of the anxious look. He knows very well if the men are not organized there is not power behind the demand, and the fight to win against the demand is dead easy. But where the answer is in the affirmative, a call is issued to the various heads for a conference at the office at once. He is prompted in this because when the men are organized there is power and strength to carry on an expensive fight, and the employer moulds or shapes his policy in accordance with the force he must meet. "IN THE UNION OF MANY, THERE IS STRENGTH FOR ALL."

Smokers who are lovers of the beautiful French Brier pipe will have to look carefully after the stock they have, as there will soon be a scarcity in this country of the makins. France has just put an embargo on the export of either the manufactured article or the rough blocks for the making of them.

Applewood which is largely used in the manufacture of the cheaper grades will now come in for more general use until France raises the export prohibition.

Bruyere (Brier) is quite largely grown in Italy and her Southern possessions, and has become quite an industry. Export to this country has grown to considerable proportions and an expansion

may soon be expected, unless Italy also puts up a prohibition fence. If a scarcity continues, the increase in this country of pipe smoking will give an impetus to the use of the American applewood in the manufacture of pipes.

If the Military bills recently adopted by the New York Legislature are correctly reported, which are to take effect August 1st of this year, there will be something doing in the Empire State. It requires every man of military age to become enrolled on or before the date above mentioned, as a member of militia reserve. The law has a penalty that is severe: those failing to enroll are to be treated as deserters. If this is the proper interpretation of the law, New York State will be bristling with military protection for the Wall Street money bags.

It will be interesting to note how some of the Empire State citizens will swallow a Militaristic Government. In order to inculcate the military sentiment into the future generations, provision is made for military training of the boys and girls in the schools.

The Militaristic section of the Government of New York certainly put one over on the other fellow at this session of the Legislature.

The workers in New York will have cause to remember the predicament the French workers found themselves in some years ago during an industrial struggle. Every man being a member of the Military reserve will be subject to the orders of the Governor, and when a strike takes place, an Executive order may force them back on the job. A nice kettle of fish to fry and some one is going to get hurt.

The Justin A. Senbert, Inc., of New York and Syracuse, Cigar Manufacturers, who have been, until recently, conducting a cigar manufacturing business in Syracuse, are now suing the cigarmakers and unions affiliated with the Central Trades and Labor Assembly to recover as damages to their business the sum of $100,000 because Organized Labor refused to patronize their goods, which were Non-Union. Efforts were made to organize the non-union cigar shops, but the firm would not recognize the Union. It is alleged that the Unions in Syracuse were active in an opposition to the Non-Union products, so much so, that the Senbert Company closed their Syracuse branch. It is now alleged that the Anti-Boycott Society, which gave its support to Lowe Hat Co., has taken up the Senbert case under the State laws of New York as a conspiracy. The Sherman Anti-Trust Law as applicable in the State, is also invoked to aid in the prosecution. Under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, suit cannot be brought in a United States Court, as the Clayton Bill, passed by Congress, precludes the right; but suit under it can be brought and prosecuted through the State courts.

Some time ago the Senbert Company secured an injunction against the Unions for prosecuting an active opposition against their Non-Union products. The trial begins Thursday, May 25, before the Supreme Court. Preparation for the case has been under way for some time.

Democracy, complete democracy, is the key-note of the foundation principle of this Nation and should be maintained. An effort is now being made to change this principle by a combination of several interests who have enlisted the influence of the Military and Naval sections. One Naval officer casts a reflection on the mothers of the rising generations by saying that the average American boy is not brought up but seemingly allowed to grow, stating that he is not obedient, well-mannered or a helpful unit. He alleges that these essentials are not, and cannot be taught to the boys in the home. If such an indictment were true, it would be a sad commentary on the American mother. Rear Admiral Goodrich, in making an argument for the Militarists, says, the only remedy to prevent our boys from going back to the aboriginal is Universal Military training. If the boy is not trained in the home he must be trained by the Government.

The Admiral may have found some foundation for his assertion in some of the boys he gets into the Navy, but the boys in the Navy do not represent the result of the average American mother's

effort at rearing and training her boys. The war in Europe has been grasped at by the (Yunkers) Militarists' wing of this country, to extend their Military ideas and put this country on Military Bureaucratic basis. The great financial interests having noted the very intelligent growth and organization of Labor have begun to fear the loss of their power to filch Labor out of the greater part of his due and have been casting round for a means of subduing Labor and enforcing obedience to the employers' dictation, and are willing to use any means to conserve the ends they are seeking.

We have just had an example of the results of their efforts in the State of New York in saddling upon the citizens of that State a set of Military conscription laws to all appearances equal to the Yunker Militarist system in many parts of Europe. Anything to subdue Labor and make it submit to the will and dictates of Capital.

To the initiated and wise ones the policies of the National Association of Manufacturers have been considered very narrow and seemingly limited to the few who were of one mind (Anti-Labor). The general narrowness of the leaders precluded the possibility of making the N. A. M. a dependable institution where broad mindedness could be given a free hand, and policies in accordance therewith promulgated.

This narrowness has until now held full sway and the little heads with small brains have been the champion swimmers in the pool.

However, from the reports of the meeting of the N. A. M., recently held in New York, the trees that have been stunted in their growth in the shallow soil from some mysterious source seem to have been fertilized and have injected into them a serum, the germs of which if they are allowed to live will spell progress along broad comprehensive lines, eliminating the narrow, selfish one-sidedness that has heretofore been the motive power governing the heretofore N. A. M. We feel free to say that if such is the future policy of the N. A. M. the Association will grow into a very respectable and useful instrument for the welfare of the general business men, because men of broad minds, with humane souls and advanced business ideas will get into control, and the shriveled up, dried up, and live-but-let-not-live squibs will be relegated to the scrap pile.

The very fact that progressive thought is now assuming life in the association is proof that the N. A. M. finds the narrow-gauge policy is a failure in an American institution, and that to live and be useful they must lay down a broad-gauge track and put broad-gauged engineers in charge.

The seeming single end of the N. A. M. has been to combat Organized Labor and stop its growth. You might just as well try to stop an alfalfa field from growing by cutting it, because the more you cut it the deeper go the roots.

The exposure of the filthy methods in the political plans of the N. A. M. some time since, under the Kirby administration, did more to wake up the few good broad heads that were left as members of it, to the realization of the fact that to live, something must be done at once before the cancerous growth hit a vital spot.

If the N. A. M. will sheath its sword and pull down its black flag, relegate the Ku Klux Klan to the scrap heap, they can become a power for the good of the business man, and Labor will welcome them into the field, where the right of liberty and the pursuit of happiness are being contended for.

The N. A. M. as a business men's institution, with the broad-gauge principles and broad minded men at the helm is as certain of success as an American institution as the sun rises in the morning. Organized Labor and organized employers can co-operate along healthful lines in contractual relations just as well as not, and in the end the best interests of both will be better served. Whereas the Ku Klux Klan policy heretofore observed will advance the interests of neither and bring the N. A. M into further disrepute.

Get the label habit.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God in His all-seeing wisdom to take to Himself our esteemed and beloved brother member, Mr. Albert Draker, May 3, 1916. We mourn his loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local No. 48 extend their sincerest sympathy to the bereaved wife and children and mother in their sorrow, not to mention our own deepest feeling and regret, and that our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family of Mr. Albert Draker, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication and a copy spread upon the minutes of the following meeting.

President, JOHN HUESTON,
Rec. Sec'y, A. H. BROUGHTON,
Local No. 48, Hamilton Ont.

REPORT OF BASIL M. MANLY.

Continued from page 7

ganization is empowered to exercise, with provision for heavy penalties if its corporate powers are exceeded.

"c. Specific provision against the accumulation of funds by the compounding of expended income, and against the expenditure in any one year of more than 10 per cent. of the principal.

"d. Rigid inspection of the finances as regards both investment and expenditure of funds.

"e. Complete publicity through open reports to the proper Government officials.

"f. Provision that no line of work which is not specifically and directly mentioned in the articles of incorporation, shall be entered upon without the unanimous consent and approval of the board of trustees, nor unless Congress is directly informed of such intention through communication to the Clerk of the House and the Clerk of the Senate, which shall be duly published in the Congressional Record, nor until six months after such intention has been declared.

"2. Provision by Congress for the thorough investigation, by a special Committee or Commission, of all endowed institutions, both secular and religious, whose property holdings or income exceeds a moderate amount. The Committee or Commission should be given full power to compel the production of books and papers and the attendance and testimony of witnesses. It should be authorized and directed to investigate not only the finances of such institutions, but all their activities and affiliations.

"3. As the only effective means of counteracting the influence of the foundations, as long as they are permitted to exist, consists in the activities of Governmental agencies along similar lines, the appropriations of the Federal Government for education and social service should be correspondingly increased."

Discussing the difficulties that confront wage earners in collecting labor claims and securing redress for minor grievances, the report recommends the establishment either by States or Municipalities of Industrial courts similar to those which have proved to be successful in European countries.

It also recommends that commissioners of labor or the industrial commissions of the several States should be directed to prosecute such claims vigorously.

UNIONS AND THE LAW.

Discussing the legal status of trade unions and the law relating to industrial disputes, the report says:

"2. The general effect of the decisions of American courts, has been to restrict the activities of labor organizations and deprive them of their most effective weapons, namely, the boycott and the power of picketing, while on the other hand the weapons of employers, namely the power of arbitrary discharge, of blacklisting, and of bringing in strike-breakers, have been maintained and legislative attempts to restrict the employers' powers have generally been declared unconstitutional by the courts. Furthermore, an additional weapon has been placed in the hands of the employers by many courts in the form of sweeping injunctions, which render punishable acts which would otherwise be legal, and also

result in effect in depriving the workers of the right to jury trial.

"3. Important steps have been taken to deal with this situation by the enactment of the Clayton Act, applying to the Federal jurisdiction, and by the passage of laws in Massachusetts and New York which define the rights of parties engaged in industrial disputes. The actual effect of the Clayton Act cannot be ascertained until it has been tested in the courts, but eminent legal authorities have expressed grave doubts that it will accomplish the desired results. At any rate, it does not seem to remove the existing injustice, and, furthermore, in all the States except New York and Massachusetts the grave and uncertain situation already described exists. This situation must be corrected.

URGES ENGLISH ACT.

"4. There are, apparently, only two lines of action possible: First, to restrict the rights and powers of the employers to correspond in substance to the powers and rights now allowed to trade unions, and second, to remove all restrictions which now prevent the freedom of action of both parties to industrial disputes, retaining only the ordinary civil and criminal restraints for the preservation of life, property, and the public peace. The first method has been tried repeatedly and has failed absolutely, not only because of the intervention of the courts but because the very nature of the acts complained of on the part of employers (blacklisting and arbitrary discharge) makes it impossible to prevent them effectively by any form of legislation or administration. The only method therefore seems to be the removal of all restrictions upon both parties, thus legalizing the strike, the lockout, the boycott, the blacklist, the bringing in of strike-breakers, and peaceful picketing. This has been most successfully accomplished by the British Trades Disputes Act, which is the result of fifty years of legal evolution, and in its present form seems to work as successfully as could possibly be expected.

"It is suggested, therefore, that the Commission recommend:

"1. The enactment by Congress and the States of legislation embodying the principles contained in the British Trade Disputes Act."

VIOLENCE.

Of violence in labor disputes the report says:

"2. Violence is seldom, if ever, spontaneous, but arises from a conviction that fundamental rights are denied and that peaceful methods of adjustment cannot be used. The sole exception seems to lie in the situation where, intoxicated with power, the stronger party to the dispute relies upon force to suppress the weaker.

"3. The arbitrary suppression of violence by force produces only resentment which will rekindle into greater violence when opportunity offers. Violence can be prevented only by removing the causes of violence; industrial peace can only rest upon industrial justice.

"4. The origin of violence in connection with industrial disputes can usually be traced to the conditions prevailing in the particular industry in times of peace, or to arbitrary action on the part of Governmental officials which infringes on what are conceived to be fundamental rights. Violence and disorder during actual outbreaks usually result from oppressive conditions that have obtained in a particular shop or factory or in a particular industry. Throughout history where a people or a group have been arbitrarily denied rights which they conceived to be theirs, reaction has been inevitable. Violence is a natural form of protest against injustice.

"5. Violence in industrial disputes is not immediately the product of industrial conditions, but of the attitude of the parties to the dispute after grievances or demands have been presented. The principal sources of an attitude leading to violence are:

"a. Arrogance on the part of the stronger party. This may result immediately in violence through the use of force for the suppression of the weaker party.

"The force used may be physical or industrial. Physical force may be and is used by both employers and employes, through intimidation, assaults or attacks on property. Such physical aggression is seldom used by employes, as they are

strategically the weaker party and the results are negative; only under exceptional circumstances can an employer be coerced by the use of force or intimidation. The exceptions seem to lie in the use of secret means, such as dynamite, with the object of weakening the employer's resistance.

"The use of force by workers is normally directed against the person or property of the employer, but against strikebreakers and guards. Many instances of the use of physical force by the agents of employers have, however, come before the Commission, indicating a relatively wide use, particularly in isolated communities. Such acts of violence usually take the form of assaults upon the leaders of the workers or upon organizers.

"The instruments of industrial force belong chiefly to the employer, because of his control of the job of the worker. Their use is more common and more effective than any other form of violence at the command of the employer. The most powerful weapon is the power of discharge, which may be used indiscriminately upon mere suspicion, which under certain conditions may be almost as potent, either in use or threat, as the power of life and death. It is the avowed policy of many employers to discharge any man who gives any sign of dissatisfaction on the theory that he may become a trouble maker or agitator.

"The only corresponding weapon in the hands of the workers is sabotage, in the form either of malicious destruction of property or of interference with production. The field of its use is much more restricted in practice than in theory and its results at best are negative and produce in the employer only a blind resentment and undiscriminating hate. Sabotage as a policy shows no signs of developing in American industry.

"b. Equally productive of an attitude leading to violence is the denial of the use of peaceful methods of adjusting grievances, or the creation of a situation in which their use becomes impossible.

"On the part of the employer the arbitrary acts which may be classed under this general head are:

"Denial of the right to organize.

"Refusal to consider the complaints of workers.

"Refusal to meet the authorized representatives of workers.

"Under modern industrial conditions any one of these acts makes peaceful negotiation and settlement impossible. Without organization of the workers their collective claims cannot be considered; without the right to appoint such representatives as they choose, workers are at the mercy of the employer's power of discharge and are usually unequal to the task of presenting and arguing their claims; while the refusal to consider grievances leaves only the alternative of the strike.

"On the part of the workers, the possibility of peaceful settlement may be destroyed by refusal to discuss claims, by internal dissensions which render collective and definite action looking to a settlement impossible, and by the issuance of ultimata which allow no time for consideration and negotiation. In any one of these situations the employer has only the choice between tame submission or absolute resistance to the demands of the workers."

FIFTY YEARS OF ORGANIZATION.

The Tobacco Workers' Union of Germany has recently celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by a special edition of its Official Journal. Under the caption of "One-Half of a Century," an eloquent appeal has been issued to the members, imploring them to make renewed efforts in spreading the principles of the union. The trials and tribulations of the past, in the effort to build up the organization upon a more permanent and practical basis, bear testimony of a long drawn out struggle.

At a convention held in Leipzig, Saxony, on December 25, 1865, the General German Cigarmakers' Union was organized. The management was placed in the hands of a President and a Board of Directors. The functions of the union did not include political activity. Within a few years 12,000 cigarmakers were enrolled under the banner of the union.

The split among the socialistic political factions caused confusion in the ranks of

the organized cigarmakers. Under the leadership of Hoerig, Georg, Winter and Richter in Wandsbek and Hamburg, Altona, a new organizatoin of cigarmakers was organized, consisting of local unions under a system of confederation. During this critical period the membership of the "General German Cigarmakers' Union" was reduced to 800.

At a convention held in May, 1872, the original name was changed to "German Tobacco Workers' Union." In the following years many efforts were made to reorganize the scattered forces, which were only partially successful.

At the convention held in 1903, in Dresden, Saxony, benevolent features consisting of out of work benefit, sick benefit and donations to mothers with new-born babies were re-established. The dues to be contributed by the various classes were increased accordingly. The change of the system imparted new life to the organization, developing into a rapid growth of the union. The membership is as follows:

1884	4,076
1894	13,571
1903	17,811
1904	21,263
1905	25,907
1906	32,752
1907	29,922
1908	28,817
1909	32,625
1910	34,046
1911	35,499
1912	37,211
1913	31,713
1914	23,615

The total income from 1884 to Dec. 31, 1914, was as follows:

	Marks.
Income from dues, etc.	9,148,461.30
Expenses—	
Traveling Benefit	470,258.52
Funeral Benefit	155,806.45
Strike Benefit	2,879,292.48
Victimization Benefit	495,093.69
Moving of household furniture	140,026.12
Sick Benefit	2,195,593.88
Out of Work Benefit	871,204.31
Total	7,207,275.45

The low wages of the cigarmakers in Germany are largely due to the lack of appreciation, for almost four decades, of practical trades union endeavor and activity. Every amelioration for the benefit of the trade was expected from political activity in favor of a democratic form of government and socialistic panaceas. Years of experience, coupled with long hours, low wages and the sweating system, have changed the tactics of the organization. In recent years it has been working hard to raise wages, to shorten the hours of labor and to improve working conditions. The average annual per capita wages of the tobacco workers have been computed as follows:

	Marks.
1885	400
1890	481
1895	513
1900	541
1905	555
1910	616
1914	677

The appeal in the "Tobacco Worker" closes as follows:

The future requires a strong organization, more so than the past. Great and manifold are the dangers which confront us. Storms are sweeping from all sides. Woe! if we cannot find refuge into the haven of a strong union.

We all, who have been loyal to the union in the past, solemnly promise on this very day to kindle the fire of enthusiasm in the heart of every member, in the common cause for the amelioration of the tobacco industry. United under this banner the German Tobacco Workers are marching in a solid phalanx to victory.—*Cigarmakers' Official Journal.*

MUST OBEY COMPENSATION LAW.

PITTSBURG, PA.—State Commissioner of Labor and Industry Jackson has served notice on industries which are carrying their own insurance, under the State compensation law, that unless they meet their legal payments promptly and without quibbling the State workmen's compensation board will revoke their right to self-insurance.

Remember the Label.

NO STRIKE IN VAIN.

Each Protest of Labor Has Its Effect On Subsequent Battles.

In his report to the Colorado State Federation of Labor convention President McLennan made these optimistic references to the recent strike of Colorado coal miners:

The astounding manner in which it has opened the eyes of the general public to the ordinary injustices and abuses with which the worker is beset has made it worth while and laid the foundation for future dividends for labor, and it can be set down as a hard and fast rule that "no strike was ever lost." Behind all the expense, the suffering and the hardship are the hidden gains, which will only be realized and appreciated in the future. Each strike will have its effect on subsequent strikes. It must have a tremendous effect on each subsequent occasion when labor confronts capital with a bill of industrial rights.

As an instance of the effects of the strike on the coal operators of Colorado, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in a burst of repentance and with a desire to play to public applause, asked its non-union men in the various camps in southern Colorado to meet, discuss any grievances they might have, select their committeemen and have their wrongs, real or fancied, brought to the attention of the company. There is no record of their having been so kind, so indulgent, so paternalistic prior to the strike. The non-union men came together in several of the southern camps. They formulated demands very similar to those which the union had asked in the first place. They asked for a 10 per cent. increase in wages, and also something that the union had never asked for, the discharge of several harsh and tyrannical pit bosses. It was what these men had learned from the union and its fight that made them ask for those things. They had learned the things which the union had demanded. They had compared their own unhappy state with what it would be if they were union men enjoying all the fruits of successful unionism, and being given a chance they asked for these things. They did not get them until backed by the strength of the organization.

STOP COMPENSATION CUTS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Referee Scott of the State compensation board has ruled that where a worker is a member of a profit-sharing fund and receives benefits for injuries through the workmen's compensation law, no portion of this money shall be deducted and placed in the fund.

The technical point raised by the insurance adjusters for the Ford Motor Company of this city was that under a plan in effect among all employes of that concern they paid $2 a week into the profit-sharing fund from wages or any sick or accident benefits they might draw. The adjusters allowed an injured worker $10 for the first two weeks he was hurt, then cut him to $8 under their decision that the balance should go into the fund. Referee Scott ruled that this conflicted with the compensation law. The decision applies to all similar profit-sharing or bonus agreements.

STICK TO UNIONISM.

The editor of a western labor paper recently said that President Gompers was one of the first to see the danger of depending on legislation for things that organized labor should get by its own power and that many experiences have shown his warnings were well grounded. There is a lot of opportunity for reflection in this statement. The more lawmakers are encouraged to interfere by making special laws the more complicated the laws are apt to become, the more liberty will be restricted, the more boards and commissions there will be to support and the less able wage earners will be to work out their own salvation in their own way through their own organizations. If wage earners are loyal to each other through their trade unions they will not need to call upon the outsiders so often for assistance, which is very often of a doubtful noture.—*Shoe Workers' Journal.*

CLERGYMAN LAUDS UNIONISM.

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH., May 20.—"I believe in the cause of organized labor. We are confronted today, not with the question of labor conditions in Europe, but in our own country," said Rev. Bastian Smits, of Jackson, in an address to the organized carpenters of this city.

"The organization of the workers is fundamental to the growth and prosperity of America," he continued. "If labor is to come into its own the workers must take the same steps which have been taken by the capitalists. The employers learned by bitter experience that they could succeed only by merging their interests. The toilers are learning this same lesson.

"Labor has the right to organize and it is at fault when it fails in this regard. I have no apology to make because I belong to a labor union. I feel that I am doing a Christian duty and don't care what others think. It is an humanitarian movement, one which needs the support of eevry fairminded, Christian man and woman of America."

CHILD LABOR.

Child labor is a wicked practice, one totally abhorrent to all ideals of intelligence and devoid of heart understanding. There is nothing in later life that can ever compensate a neglected or abused child for the losses which were a part of its childhood. As the human body, the human mind and the human personality develop they remain fundamentally unchanged. There is a time to grow and a time to develop which never return. The fundamental problems which confront our nation are those of child labor and education.—Samuel Gompers.

IMMIGRATION EVILS.

The wage earners believe in effective regulation of immigration because they desire to retain the American standard of living. The standard of wages for both unskilled and skilled labor in this country is the result of many years of effort by organized labor. When an immigrant accepts work at less than the standard wage he not only takes the place of a man working at a higher rate, but he assists in forcing downward the prevailing rate of wages in that industry, which result carries with it a corresponding reduction in the physical, moral and intellectual standard of American life.—*Ex.*

GOVERNOR FAVORS UNIONISM.

HOUSTON, TEXAS.—In his address to the convention of the State Federation of Labor Governor Ferguson reiterated this statement made by him at Dallas, last Labor Day:

"I beseech and plead with every laboring man in the country to join some union and let the union have the benefit of his counsel and help. If he has more ability than the average man the union will need the benefit of his counsel and he should join it for that reason. If he should have less ability than the average man he had better get in and let the union take care of him."

The intelligent, common sense workingmen prefer to deal with the problems of today, with which they must contend if they want to make advancements, rather than to deal with a picture or a dream.—*Gompers.*

"Now, Tommy," queried the teacher, "can you tell me the difference between a biped and a quadruped?"

"Yes, ma'am," he answered. "Two feet."

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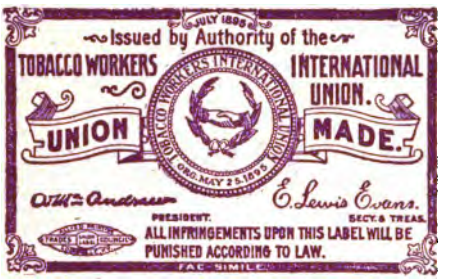

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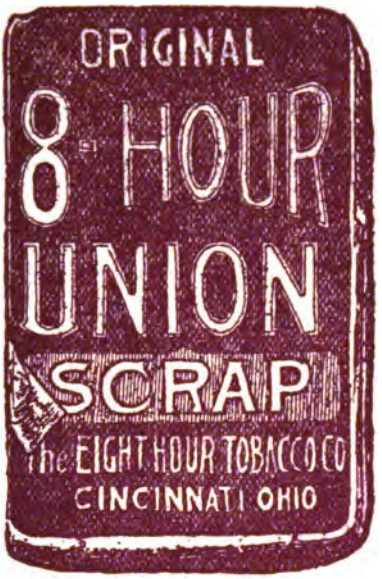

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Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 June, 1916 No. 6

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REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

[*Continued from last month*]

VIOLENCE AND STRIKEBREAKERS.

"c. The immediate cause of violence in connection with industrial disputes is almost without exception the attempt to introduce strikebreakers to take the place of the workers who have struck or who are locked out. The entire problem of policing industrial disputes grows out of the problem of the strikebreaker and the attitude of the State toward him.

"All experience shows that if no attempt is made to operate the plant, violence and disturbances requiring the police are practically unknown, whereas the attempt of strikebreakers to reach the plant, particularly where strikers are enjoined or prevented from using reasonable means to inform them of the existence of the strike and to use persuasive methods to keep them from entering the plant, is invariably accompanied by disorder and sometimes by active violence.

"The plea of the workers for the assumption of a new attitude in relation to strikebreakers is based not only upon the negative character of the rights of the employer and the strikebreaker, but upon a positive though somewhat undefinable demand for recognition that strikers have a right to the jobs which they have left until their grievances are in some way adjusted. The argument is not only that when workers are willing to strike and sacrifice their livelihood, the conditions against which they protest must be assumed to be socially injurious, but, even more, that the worker who has struck in support of his demand for better conditions has not abandoned his job, but, in fact, has a keener interest in it than when quietly submitting to distasteful conditions.

"At the very basis of the workers' contentions, however, lies the realization that working conditions can be improved only by strikes and that no strike can be won if the employer can operate his plant without difficulty. This is becoming increasingly true with every step in the Nation's industrial development. During more primitive periods, if workers struck, their places could not be filled except through the existence of a surplus of qualified labor in the community or by enticing workers from other employers. Now, the development of transportation, the establishment of specialized agencies for supplying strikebreakers, and the growth of large corporations which can shift employes from one plant to another, have given each employer a command of the labor market of the entire country. There are agencies in every large city which will contract to supply any kind of labor on short notice, while almost any of the large industrial corporations can either supply the normal demand with one-half or three-quarters of their plants, or recruit from the surplus labor around their various plants a skeleton organization which can resume operations in a short time.

"d. The greatest disorders and most acute outbreaks of violence in connection with industrial disputes arise from the violation of what are considered to be fundamental rights, and from the perversion or subversion of Governmental institutions."

STATE CONSTABULARY.

"6. The Commission devoted a great deal of attention to the question of a State constabulary as a method of policing industry. Extensive investigations of the organization, personnel, and activities of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary were made and a number of witnesses were heard at length. The findings with regard to this particular police organization may be briefly stated: It is an extremely efficient force for crushing strikes, but it is not successful in preventing violence in connection with strikes, in maintaining the legal and civil rights of the parties to the dispute, nor in protecting the public. On the contrary, violence seems to increase rather than diminish when the constabulary is brought into an industrial dispute; the legal and civil rights of the workers have on numerous occasions been violated by the constabulary; and citizens not in any way connected with the dispute and innocent of any interference with the constabulary have been brutally treated and in one case shot down by members of the constabulary, who have escaped punishment for their acts. Organized upon a strictly military basis, it appears to assume in taking the field in connection with a strike, that the strikers are its enemies and the enemies of the State, and that a campaign should be waged against them as such.

"There are certain features of the State police system, however, which seem to be preferable to the present haphazard methods of policing strikes. It is desirable, first, that all kinds of police should receive their entire compensation from the State. Second, an organized force, whose records are known, is preferable both to the private police of corporations and to the deputies ordinarily sworn in by sheriffs. Third, it is desirable that the force should be strictly disciplined and subject to definite orders. Fourth, it is desirable that those in command of any police force should have a reasonably secure tenure of office and should have had previous experience under similar circumstances, as an inexperienced person is likely to become panic stricken by the mere presence of crowds, regardless of their actions.

"If these desirable features could be combined with other features which would insure their impartiality during industrial disputes, and raise their ideals from the present militaristic basis to the police basis of preserving the peace and protecting the rights of both parties and the public, the establishment of State police systems for use in connection with industrial disputes might be recommended. But under present conditions, it seems desirable rather to leave the State policing of industrial disputes to the sheriffs and the militia if the restrictions hereinafter suggested are rigidly enforced so as to protect both the organization and the personnel from partisanship."

FREE SPEECH.

"7. One of the greatest sources of social unrest and bitterness has been the attitude of the police toward public speaking. On numerous occasions in every part of the country, the police of cities and towns have either arbitrarily or under the cloak of a traffic ordinance, interfered with or prohibited public speaking, both in the open and in the halls, by persons connected with organizations of which the police or those from whom they receive their orders did not approve. In many instances such interference has been carried out with a degree of brutality which would be incredible if it were not vouched for by reliable witnesses. Bloody riots frequently have accompanied such interference and large numbers of persons have been arrested for acts of which they were innocent or which were committed under the extreme provocation of brutal treatment of police or private citizens.

"In some cases this suppression of free speech seems to have been the result of sheer brutality and wanton mischief, but in the majority of cases it undoubtedly is the result of a belief by the police or their superiors that they were 'supporting and defending the Government' by such an invasion of personal rights. There could be no greater error. Such action strikes at the very foundations of Government. It is axiomatic that a Government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained. Furthermore, it is

the lesson of history that attempts to suppress ideas results only in their more rapid propagation.

"Not only should every barrier to the freedom of speech be removed, as long as it is kept within the bounds of decency and as long as the penalties for libel can be invoked, but every reasonable opportunity should be afforded for the expression of ideas and the public criticism of social institutions. The experience of Police Commissioner Woods, of New York City, as contained in his testimony before this Commission, is convincing evidence of the good results which follow such a policy. Mr. Woods testified that when he became Commissioner of Police, he found in force a policy of rigid suppression of radical street meetings, with the result that riots were frequent and bitter hatred of the police was widespread. He adopted a policy of not only permitting public meetings at all places where traffic and the public convenience would not be interfered with, but instructing the police to protect speakers from molestation; as a result, the rioting entirely ceased, the street meetings became more orderly and the speakers were more restrained in their utterances."

To remove the causes which lead to violence and to promote the impartial and effective action of police during disputes, the following recommendations are made:

"1. The enactment by Congress of a statute prohibiting, under severe penalties, the transportation of men from State to State either under arms or for the purpose of arming them as guards or as agents either of employers or of employes.

"2. The enactment by Congress of a statute prohibiting the shipment in interstate commerce of cannon, gatling guns, and other guns of similar character, which are not capable of personal use, when consigned to anyone except military agencies of the State or Federal Governments.

"3. The regulation or prohibition of private detective agencies and private employment agencies as hereinbefore suggested.

"4. The strict enforcement in all public and private employment offices of the rules requiring full notice of the existence of a strike.

"5. The complete assumption by the States and municipalities of the responsibility for policing, and the prohibition of the maintenance of any private police (except a limited number of watchmen without police power except on premises).

"6. The definition by statute, by the States, of the conditions under which sheriffs may deputize, such regulations to include provisions that a deputy must be a bona fide resident of the State; that a sworn statement of the complete activities of each deputy covering a period of ten years immediately preceding his deputization shall be filed with the Secretary of State; that no person who shall have been convicted of any misdemeanor or who shall have been imprisoned in any State shall be deputized, and that no deputy shall receive any money or other thing of value from any person connected with an industrial dispute during his period of service or in connection therewith.

"7. The enactment by statute, by the States, providing a uniform code governing the militia and embodying the following principles:

"a. A proclamation of martial law or a state of war, insurrection or rebellion, by the Governor of a State, as the result of an industrial dispute, shall have no effect upon the continuance of the constitutional guarantees of the State and Federal constitutions, nor upon the law and statutes, nor upon the jurisdiction of the courts, nor upon other civil authorities.

"b. The writ of habeas corpus or other process of the courts cannot be suspended, interfered with nor disregarded by the military. It is part of the duty of the military to assist in enforcing the process and decrees of the civil courts.

"c. The ordinary courts shall have jurisdiction for the punishment of crime, and in all cases where the same act constitutes an indictable offense under both military and criminal law, courtmarshals shall have no jurisdiction nor authority to try officers or soldiers accused thereof,

but the offender shall be turned over to the civil magistrate for trial.

"d. The military may not hold, detain, nor imprison persons arrested by them any longer than is necessary to hand them over to the civil authorities. No person arrested by the militia shall be detained after noon of the following day, without being brought before a committing magistrate.

"e. The military may not forcibly enter nor search a private house in order to seize arms or other property concealed therein without a search warrant.

"f. The military shall have no authorty to establish a censorship over the press nor to interfere with the publication of newspapers, pamphlets, handbills, or the exercise of the right of free speech, except under process of the courts.

"g. The military shall not limit, restrict, nor interfere with the freedom of movement of peaceable citizens or the rights of public meetings, assemblage, or parades in streets and public highways or elsewhere, except under due process of law.

"h. Every military officer under whose orders a civilian is arrested shall within twenty-four hours thereafter report in writing to the commanding officer the name of the prisoner, the offense with which he is charged, and what disposition has been made of him. Failing, he shall be liable to such punishment as a courtmarshal may direct.

"In times of industrial disputes no private guards, detectives, nor employes of either of the contending parties shall be enlisted or employed as members of the militia, and all persons found by the commanding officer to be in the employment of either party to a dispute or actuated by animosity or personal ill-will toward either of the contending parties, shall be forthwith released from active service.

"j. The Governor may, in times of disturbance, by proclamation forbid the sale or transportation of firearms, ammunition, and intoxicating liquors, and may require all firearms and other weapons to be deposited with the military at certain places, receipt being given therefor. Proper search warrants may be issued to discover concealed weapons.

"8. That the State and municipalities should provide by law for the fullest use of schools and other public buildings for public meetings and lectures and for other similar purposes."

MIGRATORY WORKERS.

One important part of the report deals with the problem presented by large number of migratory laborers, many of whom find difficulty in obtaining employment during several months in the year.

The following recommendations to improve their condition are made:

"1. The Interstate Commerce Commission should be directed by Congress to investigate and report the most feasible plan of providing for the transportation of workers at the lowest reasonable rates and, at the same time, measures necessary to eliminate the stealing of rides on railways.

"If special transportation rates for workers are provided, tickets may be issued only to those who secure employment through public employment exchanges.

"2. The establishment by States, municipalities and, through the Department of Labor, the Federal Government, of sanitary workingmen's hotels in which the prices for accommodation shall be adjusted to the cost of operation. If such workingmen's hotels are established, the Post-office Department should establish branch Postal Savings Banks in connection therewith.

"3. The establishment by the municipal, State and Federal Governments of colonies or farms for 'down-and-outs' in order to rehabilitate them by means of proper food, regular habits of living, and regular work that will train them for lives of usefulness. Such colonies should provide for hospital treatment of cases which require it."

Other subjects treated at length by the report are: unemployment; organization; methods and policies of trade unions; methods and policies of employers' associations; joint agreements; agencies of mediation, investigation and arbitration; sickness insurance; scientific management; prison labor; immigration; labor conditions in colonial possessions, and Chinese exclusion.

Labor conditions in Porto Rico are severely criticized by the report. Wages are declared to be low; housing and sanitary conditions bad; adequate protective laws and administrative agencies lacking, and the police and municipal authorities are charged with having denied workmen their rights. A full Congressional investigation is urged of labor conditions in Porto Rico and other possessions.

METHODS OF TRADE UNIONS.

Discussing methods and policies of trade unions the report says:

"The investigations of the Commission, conducted under the direction of Dr. George E. Barnett, are the basis of the following conclusions:

"1. The number of trade unionists relative to the working population is steadily increasing, although in certain industries, on account of the opposition of the great corporations and hostile employers' associations, trade unionism is practically non-existent. At present it may be roughly estimated that in manufacturing, mining, transportation and the building industries, if the proprietary, supervisory, official and clerical classes are excluded, twenty-five per cent. of the workers twenty-one years of age and over are trade unionists.

"2. The effects of trade unionism on wages are undoubted. Without some form of combination the wage workers can not bargain on equal terms with their employers. During the past fifteen years, a period of rapidly rising prices, wages in well organized trades have kept pace with the rising cost of living, in contrast to the relative decline of the purchasing power of the wages received by labor generally.

"3. In the well organized trades, the hours of labor have been steadily reduced until at present eight hours is the normal working day for at least one-half of American trade unionists. It is significant of the influence of trade unionism on the length of the working day that it is exactly in those trades in which the trade unionists are a relatively small part of the total working force that they work long hours relatively to other trade unionists.

"4. As the unit of industry grows larger, and the natural relation which exists between the small employer and his workmen disappear, the opportunity for unjustifiable discharges and petty tyrannies enlarges. The result is distrust and enmity among the employes. The effective remedy is the organization of the workers and the establishment of a system of trade boards in which the workers are equally presented with power to deal with such questions.

"5. By means of mutual insurance in case of death, sickness, accident, old age and unemployment, many trade unions have greatly improved the conditions of their members. The extension of such systems appears to be highly desirable.

"6. The trade union is a democratic institution, and faces the same problems in securing efficient government that other democratic institutions face. The theory of government which the American trade unions have adopted is the centralization of power in the national trade union as against the local unions. The successful carrying out of this plan of organization will eliminate the chief defects in trade union government. The control by the national union over strikes and the system of mutual insurance is already thoroughly established in the more important unions; it should be established in all other unions.

"7. Unwarranted sympathetic strikes have undoubtedly been the cause of great annoyance and considerable economic loss to employers. The annoyance in such cases is particularly great, because no direct action by the employer can be taken; at best he can only use his influence with his associates or competitors. With the increasing control of the national officers over the local unions, this kind of strike seems to be decreasing both in extent and frequency. Such sympathetic action is deep rooted in the sense of brotherhood which to a greater or less degree pervades and will not be completely eliminated until substantial justice exists throughout industry.

"8. A few trade unions exclude qualified persons from membership by high initiation fees or other devices. This

Continued on page 11

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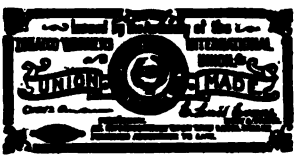

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Editorial.

PREPAREDNESS.

Whither are we drifting, is a question that has been the theme of and a query upon which columns has been written; but few have taken the proper significance from the question and the answers given.

If you will stop and ponder on this subject for but a short while it will become patent to you that one by one your liberties are passing from view. The ceaseless movement of the times, and the needle in the hands of the predatory interests is weaving the net, mesh by mesh, for the inthrallment of the workers. This is going on so quietly, and in scattered points of this vast country, that the net weaving is noted only by the few who are watching.

You may often hear in certain circles the statement that we are too prosperous, the workers are making too much money, they have too much to say as to what they will do, and what they will get for what they do, they should be controlled by the government. The statements give an idea of what is revolving in the minds of the people floating in these circles, and we have many evidences that they are putting their thoughts into practical application. Not a few of the culminations of these thoughts have been put into practice during the past year. Have you noted some of these things in the shape of laws that have been put on the statute books of States that are widely separated in this great expanse of country?

It is not long since, in Colorado, a law was slipped through depriving the worker of the right to leave his work when it did not suit him; he must give thirty days' notice in that mountain State before he can leave.

In Ohio, and in the Capital of the State, they have been jailing organizers for addressing an assembly of workers who had left their work because the conditions under which the work in the mill was done did not suit them. Organizers who came from distant cities were roughly handled and told to quit the precincts of the Capital city on pain of arrest and imprisonment.

In New York we have just the pleasant advice of the quiet passage of a law compelling every person between the age of 18 and 38 to become a subject of military law. Persons who are between the ages of 18 and 38 who are not desirous of becoming soldiers and do not report under the provisions of this law are to be treated as army deserters and suffer the same penalty as if they had deserted from the army.

There are many other similar incidents of this character which are all calculated to abridge the liberties of the people in this land of the free and the home of the brave.

Are you going to stand idly by and in an impotent state watch the weaving of this ensnaring net? If you do, the penalties attached will certainly be yours. You have the means at hand now to

thwart the attempts at the curtailing of your liberties. The knife is in your hands to cut the meshes as they are woven and prevent your enthrallment. Do it before it is too late. It is much easier to kill a plant while it is young than when its roots spread over a wide area.

Think over these things, ponder out the remedy, it is open to you, take it while it is within your grasp.

Wage slavery is worse than chattel slavery because the interests who employ you have no further interest than the profit from your best efforts given them for the wage you get.

Economic preparedness is the question for us to study, not military preparedness. The rainy days are coming, you need to be prepared.

You have dear ones at home. Are you prepared to care for them as befits an American workman?

The preparedness which our daily papers are giving so much attention to is not the only brand we should have in stock; there are other brands that are as vital to our interests. We want some of the workingman's preparedness, which will be a defense for his economic interests.

Organize, educate and prepare yourself for combat for existence; you need it today, tomorrow, every day and all the time. Our employers are never asleep on the preparedness question; they are on the job 365 days in the year, watching every opportunity that may be gainful for them. This being the case, why should we not also be prepared where our most vital interests are at stake? Be prepared to defend your own interests; the other fellow is looking after his, and why not you yours?

The attempts of the interests to force through Congress (by the speeding up method) the Taylor stop-watch system has been successfully blocked by the little labor group. Let us help them to do greater things during the next Congress by enlarging the group.

The school teachers who from early times have looked upon themselves as members of a profession and above the needs of the good offices of a trade union, have come to realize that they are wage earners after all. The theory that they belonged to a blue-stocking class has, through their political exploitation, been exploded and the balloon collapsed. It was an old theory covered with professional and fostered by political moss, but it took the broader education of today to prove to the latter day teachers that after all they were wage earners who needed the protecting influence of association with economic organization to save them from the slough of political exploitation into which they had unconsciously slid.

The consciousness of their predicament made them think along new lines and wonder whether their boasted position was not after all built upon a false work. They studied the trade union movement and noting that many of its members were earning far more than they were—and they belonged to their trade association—why then should the teachers not seek the protection they felt they needed? They cast about for a means of relief and learned that the teachers in England had long ago seen the necessity for organization and had acted intelligently on the question.

The teachers in the United States have now started and have found that they have legal rights in the premises and are going to make one of the great organizations in the family, associated together in the American Federation of Labor.

We gladly welcome them.

The Tobacco Workers in Middletown, Ohio, finding that as individuals in contending for better conditions they were no match with their employers they did the next best thing. For a number of years they have accepted promises that were like pie-crust, which was made to break, and their long patience on promises at last ceased to be a virtue. This spring they petitioned their employers for an increase in wages to meet the aeroplaning of the cost of living. These petitions were, it is presumed, placed in the waste basket with the statement, they have no organization to back up their demands and we will

put them off a while longer. A rude awakening, however, was in store for the Trust's local management, for at 3 p. m, every machine suddenly ceased to run and everybody put on their clothes and walked out. The whole thing worked like clock work, a unanimous decision having been reached without any noise or fuss. Their condition at once enlisted the sympathy and advice of the other unions in Middletown. President Griffith and Vice-President Adams and Mr. John Walters, of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, advised with them, suggesting that they organize at once into a union and present their demands through a committee representing all the employes. This being done, communication was started with the office of the Tobacco Workers' International Union. President McAndrew and Secretary Evans took up the matter, forming a local union. A proposition embracing the demands was drafted and presented by committee to the management at the factory. After some hesitation, the manager agreed to the increase asked. The Tobacco Workers of Middletown have had an example of what organization can secure for them, and have gone on with their organization, applying for their charter and supplies and established a permanent protection for themselves and those dependent upon them.

The writer had the pleasure of witnessing the spirit that permeated those revolting against pie-crust promises, and it was as inspiring a sight as he has witnessed in many a long day. The Fraternal Order of Eagles and the Bijou Theatre donated their assembly rooms for meetings during the strike, and when going to attend the meetings the Tobacco Workers assembled at an appointed place close to the factory and then marched with stars and stripes flying in the breeze to the hall in perfect military formation. There was no loud talking or noisy demonstration on the part of the marchers, but a grim determination written upon their faces to win the demands made, having subsisted on promises long enough. Many were the favorable comments made upon the marchers by those standing along the line of march.

Now that the Presidential nominations are over, it is time to get busy on the timber for the next Congress, always remembering that the man you want in Congress is the man who will have the interests of labor uttermost in his heart. We have too long allowed the reactionary employers to choose the Congressmen and Senators. We have ample example of the kind of men these employers have kept in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Those elected have always taken care of the interests that have sent them there.

We have only eighteen Congressmen in the labor group. We want more and more and more, until the interests of the workers are properly taken care of. We do not care for the political affiliation of the men in Congress as long as they will take care of labor's interests. It is true we have gotten more remedial legislation during the last Democratic administration, but all the aspirants for Congress are men who will give consideration to legislation in labor's interest. We want to eliminate those of both parties who will not give heed to the demands of labor. There are many bills now before Congress that the labor group are not able to pry out of the committees to which they have been assigned, simply because the labor group has not the power behind them to force the issue. Let us add to the labor group this year; we ought to have not less than double the number we now have. It must be plain to all our voters, it takes power of members and influence to force the legislation you want from Congress. No group of people in any State ever got any legislation out of Congress without getting right behind their legislators and keeping them to the work, and impressing them with the fact that such and such bills must be passed. If the issue is pressed hard enough the Congressmen will stir their stumps and find a way. Just now those eighteen men we have in Congress need help so they can help us, and need it bad, so let us stir our stumps and find the men. We can find them if we concentrate our efforts in that direction.

We ought to have at least one man in each district who can qualify as a true

representative of labor's interests. If we can hope to secure the legislation we positively need we must go after it, and the first requisite is to put the man on the job who will give ear to your requests.

It is not absolutely necessary that your Congressman shall be a lawyer in order that he may qualify. There are too many lawyers in the House of Representatives now, and also too many professional politicians. Let us put some good men in their places.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God in His all-seeing wisdom to take to Himself our esteemed and beloved brother member, Mr. Thomas J. Milligan, June 9, 1916. We mourn his loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local No. 48 extend their sincerest sympathy to the bereaved wife and children in their sorrow, not to mention our own deepest feeling and regret, and that our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family of Mr. Thomas Milligan, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication, and a copy spread upon the minutes of the following meeting.

President, JOHN HUESTON,
Rec. Sec., A. H. BROUGHTON,
Local No. 48, Hamilton, Ont.

REPORT OF U. S. COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

Continued from page 7

policy is condemned by the more important unions and is prohibited by their rules. The evidence presented to the Commission shows clearly that the policy of exclusion is anti-social and monopolistic, and should be given up by those unions which practice it.

"9. In many trades, the efficiency of the union depends upon the maintenance of the rule that all those working at the trade shall become members of the union. Where the union admits all qualified workers to membership under reasonable conditions, such a rule cannot become the basis of monopoly and neither the rights of the individual nor the public interest are infringed by its enforcement.

"10. In some trades there are a considerable number of union rules which restrict the productivity of the worker. Some of these rules can be justified on the ground that they are necessary to the protection of the health of the worker. There are some, however, which cannot be defended; these rules are anti-social and should be given up. Experience has shown that where industry is regulated by well organized systems of joint agreements, such rules either disappear or greatly decrease in number and importance. These limitations of output should not, however, be considered as standing alone. The limitations of output by associations of employers and by individual corporations are equally anti-social and have far greater consequences.

"11. Jurisdictional disputes are the occasion of frequent and costly strikes. The disputes of this character which have caused most injury are in the building trades. Up to the present, the efforts to lessen these disputes by action of the national unions involved have largely failed. It is suggested that the Commission recommend to the American Federation of Labor and to the national unions that renewed and more effective efforts be made to prevent such disputes.

"12. The essential condition for trade union graft is the placing of the authority to call strikes or to levy boycotts in the hands of one person without adequate provision for supervision. This condition does not exist in many unions. There is abundant evidence to show that in very many cases it originates with employers who desire to secure an advantage over their competitors. The reason that graft is more prevalent in the building trades is that power is conferred on the business agent to call strikes without reference either to the rank and file or to the national officers. It has been testified by employers who have given much attention to this problem that any well organized association of employers

can eliminate graft whenever its members desire to do so. As far as the unions are concerned the solution seems to lie in the increased participation of the rank and file in the activities of the organization and increased provisions for fixing responsibility upon their business agents."

Joint agreements between employers and labor organizations representing their employes are urged as having proven the most satisfactory method of fixing conditions of employment.

A detailed plan for a permanent national mediation commission to be appointed by the President in disputes involving interstate commerce is outlined and urged upon Congress. Members, the number of which is not named, would be appointed for six years. Where official mediation of a strike fails, a board of mediation would be appointed consisting of three persons, one to be selected by the Commission and one by each of the parties. No power to compel arbitration should be given to such a Commission, says the report. The proposed commission would have jurisdiction in all strikes where an establishment, except public service establishments, is engaged in interstate commerce. The plan provides for permanent advisory councils of employers and unionists, who would work with the commission.

Discussing immigration, the report urges restriction based upon the general provisions of the so-called Burnett-Dillingham bill. It recommends:

"1. The enactment of legislation providing for the restriction of immigration based upon the general provisions contained in the so-called Burnett-Dillingham bill, which has received the approval of two Congresses. With a full realization of the many theoretical objections which have been urged against the literacy test, the consensus of evidence is so strong that its practical workings would be to restrict immigration to those who are likely to make the most desirable citizens, to regulate immigration in some degree in proportion to the actual needs of American industry, and finally to promote education in Europe, that it seems necessary at least to urge that this plan be given a practical test.

"2. The enactment of legislation providing that within six months from the time of entry all immigrants shall be required, under penalty of deportation, either to declare their intention to become citizens by taking out their first papers or to definitely register themselves with the proper authority as alien tourists, and further providing that all immigrants who have failed to take out their first papers at the end of two years shall be deported, as shall all who fail to take out their second papers when they become eligible, deportation in each case to act as a bar to future entry.

"3. The provision by the States and municipalities, with the assistance of the Federal Government, if necessary, for the education of all adult persons who are unable to speak, read or write the English language. In order to accomplish this it may be necessary to provide that employers shall grant certain definite periods of leisure for such instruction."

MARY AND HER LANDLORD.

Mary opened a little shop
To help her on life's way;
And honest toil found fit reward,
And it began to pay.

"How's biz?" the landlord often asked,
And Mary was imprudent;
Of course she never guessed he was
An economic student.

But Mary's landlord's eagle eye,
Was watching how things went,
And when the 15th May came round
He doubled Mary's rent.

The imposition staggered her,
But what could Mary do?
Subsistence bare is the tenant's share,
All above is the landlord's due.

So Mary kept on as before,
Improving as time went;
But step by step with increased trade
The landlord raised the rent.

And thus the merry game went on
Till Mary's life was spent—
As fast as God could prosper her,
The landlord raised the rent.

LET LABOR OF NATION BE WARNED BY NEW YORK'S MILITIA PROGRAM.

While President Wilson is disclaiming that there is no enemy in sight, and while some very palin signs of approaching world peace are manifesting themselves, the great State of New York, heart of the system and seat of the nation's money power, quietly slips over the hardest jolt that has yet come to the workers in this country.

Five laws have just been signed in that State that would seem incomprehensible if they were not so self-evident.

These laws provide the following almost unbelievable things:

Beginning August 1 this year, every male in the State will be enrolled as a member of the reserve militia.

The governor has power to draft from the reserve militia for the following purposes:

To bring the active militia up to strength.

To quell riots, uprisings, or almost anything else that he may take a notion to quell.

It is believed that the laws gives the governor and military commission power to select the individuals to be drafted.

Any person who refuses to obey the draft summons will be treated as a deserter in accordance with the warcode.

All children over eight years of age must undergo military training in school.

All boys between 16 and 19 must attend summer military training, unless occupied in gainful occupations.

These laws were passed so quietly that but few knew anything about them before they became laws. Even members of the Senate Committee on Education knew nothing of them until too late.

Already New York State is in an uproar over the matter. A great non-partisan State organization to fight for their repeal is in process of formation.

What has happened in New York can happen elsewhere. There is no more to prevent such legislative action in any other State than there was in New York, with the exception that in those states where the referendum is operative the people have a final veto power.

It is evident that an attempt will be made by the extreme militarists to get other states to pass similar laws. The armament crowd sells a gun and ammunition every time a child is added to the school army roll. It sells a gun and ammunition every time a new man is brought into the war ranks.

The munitions crowd is busy promoting such legislation as this. It delights in every move toward conscription.

And this is at a time when it is only by the hardest kind of fighting that any advance can be secured for labor in the way of industrial preparedness.

THE WORKER'S WAGE.

Satisfactory When It Enables a Man to Support His Family Decently.

In reply to a query by a Washington (D. C.) newspaper, "What is a satisfactory wage?" A. F. of L. Secretary Frank Morrison said:

"A satisfactory wage is something more than a weapon to keep the wolf from the door; a compensation which a man can disburse himself and make both ends meet without his rich employer's social settlement workers coming to him and attempting to teach him how to keep body and soul together on what he receives. Social settlement work is all right in its place. But it has no more place in the life of the working man than in the life of any other man.

"Organized labor says to the capitalist: 'Keep your social workers. Give us an eight hour day and a satisfactory wage, and your social workers will not be necessary. Give us proper wages, and we will conduct our homes and our lives in such a way that we will not have to be instructed as to how much we shall spend for rent, food, clothing, doctors, amusements, magazines and penny newspapers.'

"No man wants to be dictated to as to what he shall spend his money for, the quantity and quality of what he shall buy or when he shall buy it, what he shall read or where he shall go."

Ask for the Label.

CHILD LABOR.

Child labor is a wicked practice, one totally abhorrent to all ideals of intelligence and devoid of heart understanding. There is nothing in later life that can ever compensate a neglected or abused child for the losses which were a part of its childhood. As the human body, the human mind and the human personality develop they remain fundamentally unchanged. There is a time to grow and a time to develop which never return. The fundamental problems which confront our nation are those of child labor and education.—Sampel Gompers.

PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

One group does the work and starves, the other with property has the leisure. This is privilege, plutocracy. It exists in Milwaukee and in every industrial center in the United States. Those who work are penalized because they work; those who own are rewarded because they control the resources and the means of production.

Private ownership puts it in the power of the owner to pay dying wages and charge monopoly prices. It enables the owner to say to the worker, "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it."—Professor Scott Nearing.

BOOST THE LABEL.

There are trades that have no union label, and we must support them. Carpenters, painters, and building trades generally have no union label, yet they are an important part of the labor movement in every community. Our locals should be active in every central labor body where they are located and should demonstrate by their acts that the shoeworkers are ready at all times to support their sister unions of other crafts in every contest where the interests of wage-earners are involved. Remember, every time you boost a sister union you strengthen your own.—*Shoe Workers' Journal.*

Yearly on February 2 and for forty-five days after, a mysterious fire breaks out in Ariyake Bay, on the west coast of Kyushu, Japan, burning both on land and sea, the origin of the conflagration being a complete mystery which a recently outfitted scientific exploration party will make a point of solving.

HE WAS WISE.

He had been calling on her twice a week for six months, but had not proposed. He was a wise young man, and didn't think it necessary.

"Ethel," he said, as they were taking a stroll one evening, "I—er—am going to ask you an important question."

"Oh, George," she exclaimed, "this is so sudden. Why I—"

"What I want to ask is this," he interrupted: "What date have you and your mother decided upon for our wedding?" —*Detroit Saturday Night.*

AIN'T IT AWFUL?

Hodge—It's funny all autos have the tobacco habit, isn't it? Dodge—The tobacco habit! Hodge—Yes. I understand that the gasoline cars smoke, while an electric won't start without a plug.—*Brooklyn Citizen.*

Finish every day and be done with it. You have done what you could; some blunders and absurdities crept in—forget them as soon as you can. To-morrow is a new day. You shall begin it well and serenely, and with too high a spirit to be encumbered with your old nonsense.—Emerson.

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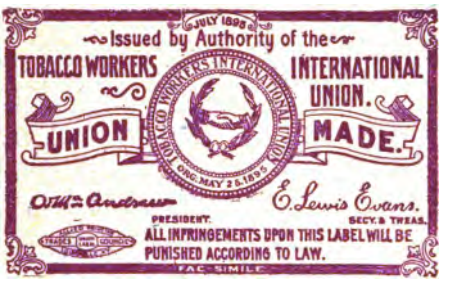

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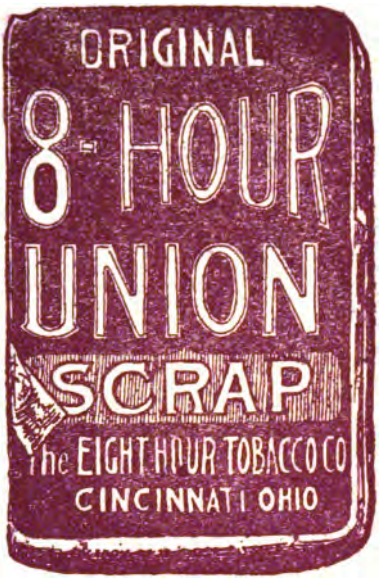

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The Tobacco Worker.

Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 July, 1916 No. 7

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PRESS ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON THE COLORADO STRIKE.

BY GEORGE P. WEST.

[*Ordered printed by resolution of the Commission.*]

The responsibility for the strike of coal miners in Colorado in 1913 and 1914 for the disorder and suffering that followed is placed squarely on the shoulders of operators in a report by George P. West, made public today by the Commission on Industrial Relations.

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, controlled by John D. Rockefeller, is declared to have been the leader in formulating and carrying out strike policies. Mr. Rockefeller and his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are charged, first, with the selection of incompetent and reactionary agents to serve as executive officials in this Company, and second, with giving their heartiest endorsement and support to these officials after they had taken action that precipitated the worst of the troubles.

Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., is charged with having approved measures to coerce the state government of Colorado and with having flouted the will of the President of the United States.

The report says:

"During all the seven tragic and bitter months that preceded Ludlow, Mr. Rockefeller wrote letter after letter in enthusiastic praise of men whose acts during this period had precipitated a reign of terror and bloodshed. It was only when the Ludlow massacre filled the press of the nation with editorial denunciation, when mourners in black silently paraded in front of his New York office, when cartoons in the conservative press pilloried him and his father before an angry public, that at last complacency gives way to concern in his letters and telegrams to Denver."

Of Mr. Rockefeller's responsibility the report says:

"Mr. Rockefeller's responsibility has a significance beyond even the sinister results of his policy in Colorado. The preversion of and contempt for government, the disregard of public welfare, and the defiance of public opinion during the Colorado strike must be considered as only one manifestation of the autocratic and anti-social spirit of a man whose wealth gives him infinite opportunity to act in similar fashion in broader fields. Mr. Rockefeller writes to Mr. Bowers: 'You are fighting a good fight, which is not only in the interest of your own company, but of the other companies of Colorado and of the business interests of the entire country.'

"And Mr. Bowers, with whom Mr. Rockefeller obviously is in full sympathy and agreement, writes letter after letter picturing the growth of trade unionism as a national menace against which the business men of the nation must combine. 'Now for the campaign of 1916' and beyond, is the slogan with which one of these letters closes, and Mr. Bowers is unsparing in criticism of a President who would tolerate a former official of a labor union in his Cabinet.

"The nation-wide significance and importance of the Colorado conflict and the company's ruthless policy of suppression are emphasized again and again. By June, 1914, Mr. Rockefeller has formulated something like a definite plan for a nation-wide campaign. The most highly paid publicity experts in the country has been borrowed from a great Eastern rail-

way, to be taken over later as a permanent member of Mr. Rockefeller's staff. A 'union educational campaign' is to be conducted, and the country is to be flooded with articles by college professors and others bitterly denouncing trade unions. And at the very time when he prepares to circulate Prof. Stevenson's intemperate and amazing defense of industrial absolutism and tirade against trade unions, Mr. Rockefeller enlists the aid of Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, expert on industrial relations, to devise specious substitutes for trade unions that will deceive, mollify and soothe public opinion while bulwarking the employers' arbitrary control.

"Yet it is important to remember that Mr. Rockefeller's character and policies are important only as showing the possibilities inherent in an economic and industrial situation that permits one man or a group of men to wield such enormous economic power, and through that power not only to control the destinies and dictate the circumstances of life of millions of wage earners and for entire communities, but to subsidize and control to a large degree those agencies that mold the public opinion of a nation. Even should Mr. Rockefeller change over night, those possibilities of evil would remain inherent in our economic and industrial situation, as a menace to freedom and democracy."

Every important statement of fact contained in the report, it is said, is established by quotations from the correspondence or testimony of responsible executive officials of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company or of Mr. Rockefeller and members of his personal staff. The report contains copious extracts from the testimony and correspondence of Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., and Starr J. Murphy, his personal attorney in New York, J. F. Welborn, President of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, L. M. Bowers, Chairman of the Executive Department of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, The Rev. Eugene S. Gaddis, Superintendent of the Company's Sociological Department, during the strike and until February, 1915, and others.

The report in discussing the Company's rejection of President Wilson's plan for a settlement of the strike, says:

"Mr. Rockefeller not only rebuffed the President by denying his earnest request, but, if the letters of his agents may be relied upon, he apparently deceived the President and the public by means of the Company's letter of rejection. This letter was written by President Welborn in collaboration with Mr. Ivy L. Lee, a member of Mr. Rockefeller's personal staff, whom he had sent to Colorado for the purpose. Mr. Rockefeller's personal staff in New York had become impressed with the strong public sentiment supporting the President's proposal, and in drafting their letter of rejection to the President, Messrs. Welborn and Lee inserted the following:

"'A plan to secure harmonious relations in some industries or sections of the country would not necessarily apply to our peculiar conditions. We are now developing an even more comprehensive plan, embodying the results of our practical experience, which will, we feel confident, result in a closer understanding between ourselves and our men. This plan contemplates not only provision for the redress of grievances, but for a continuous effort to promote the welfare and the good will of our employes.'

"This letter was signed by Mr. Welborn and was dispatched on September 18, 1914. On the following day, September 19, Mr. Welborn wrote to Mr. Murphy, Mr. Rockefeller's personal attorney in New York:

"'I appreciate your very thoughtful letter of the 16th inst., with suggestions for consideration IN THE EVENT OF ITS BEING NECESSARY TO PROPOSE SOME PLAN TO TAKE THE PLACE OF THAT PRESENTED TO US BY THE PRESIDENT.'"

The political influence of the Rockefeller Company and its associates is declared to be greater today than ever before, as a result of the failure of the strike. The report says:

"The Commission is told by Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, expert on industrial relations for Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., that Mr. Rockefeller's will and conscience are today the most potent factor to be considered in any effort to bring about an improvement of conditions. While physical and material conditions in the coal

camps may be improved to some extent as a result of the publicity given to existing abuses, these improvements, if they come, will be granted as a charity, and there is yet no indication that the inhabitants of the coal camps are nearer the achievemeht of industrial and political democracy than they were when the strike began. On the other hand, the arrest, prosecution and conviction of union officials and strikers, with the aid of attorneys and detectives in the employ of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and by direction of public officials placed in office largely through the company's influence, indicate plainly that the reverse is true. How the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company obtained the new lease of political power by which it procured these prosecutions is well shown by the following extract from the testimony of Mr. L. M. Bowers, chairman of the executive department of the company, given before the Commission in Washington on May 24. Mr. Bowers had testified that the company turned 150 men out of its offices on election day to work for prohibition, which was bound up with the candidates of Mr. Carlson for governor and Mr. Farrar for attorney general. Both these candidacies were successful.

"Mr. Bowers: 'Let me explain. I don't mean we turned them out to carry the election. It was on election day, but we were out on the campaign and had a fight on and had practically no funds to carry on a campaign, and they wanted men to do the work, to do the ward work and distribute literature and all that sort of thing; and the coal operators, not only the coal operators but everybody that was interested in the question of prohibition at the election turned out their office men, and I had been—by the way I had nothing to do with picking out that one hundred and fifty men, and I did not know it until the next day after they had been out.'

"Chairman Walsh: 'Didn't you use the prohibition sentiment that was strong in the State to get support for what you called the law and order platform, that was, for the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the others to aid in the ruthless prosecution of the strikers and the union officers, and a relentless policy of suppressing those men?'

"Mr. Bowers: 'It was all interlinking and locked together.'

"The company's deep interest in prohibition quite slips President Welborn's mind when he writes to Mr. Rockefeller the following exultant letter, dated Nov. 6, 1914:

"'*My Dear Mr. Rockefeller:*

"'According to the figures received today, which are practically complete, the plurality of Carlson, Republican candidate for Governor, over Patterson, is approximately 33,000. The plurality of Farrar, Democratic candidate for Attorney General, over his next opponent, the Republican, is almost 38,000.

"'Farrar is the present incumbent in the office to which he has just been elected, and has been about the only reliable force for law and order in the State House. His re-election serves to emphasize the sentiment in favor of law and order, expressed in the election of the main part of the Republican ticket.

"'Mr. Farrar has been very actively engaged for several months in connection with the work of grand juries in various coal counties, where indictments have been brought against those who participated in the rioting.

"'Very truly yours,

"'(Signed) J. F. WELBORN.'

"Mr. Rockefeller also forgets the prohibition cause, on account of which Mr. Bowers says 150 men were turned out of the Company's office as election workers. He writes:

"'*Dear Mr. Welborn:*

"'I have just returned to the city, after an absence of several weeks in the South with my wife, and find your letter of Nov. 26th regarding the gratifying plurality for Carlson for Governor and Farrar for Attorney General. It would seem that the election of this Republican Governor and the re-election of this Democratic Attorney General, both of whom have established clear records as to their strong stand for law and order, would indicate that the sentiment of the people of Colorado is for law and order, quite irrespective of party lines.

"'Very cordially,

"'(Signed) JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.'

"In pursuance of the 'law and order' policy on which they were elected, Governor Carlson and Attorney General Farrar have proceeded vigorously with the prosecution of union officials and strikers. Their most conspicuous success came with the conviction on a charge of murder in the first degree of Mr. John R. Lawson, member of the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America and the most conspicuous Colorado official of that organization. Mr. Lawson is an old resident of Colorado. He had worked his way from breaker boy to a position where he commands the respect and friendship of large numbers of the State's best citizens. He has appeared twice before the Commission, and members of the Commission and its agents have investigated carefully his record and character. As a consequence, he is believed to be a man of exceptionally high character and a good citizen in every sense of the term. The judge before whom he was tried was appointed by Governor Carlson after serving the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company as attorney and assisting in the preparation of cases against strikers. The panel from which the jury was drawn was selected by the Sheriff of Las Animas County, an official whose sympathies have been with the mine owners from the beginning. Much of the evidence on which he was convicted came from men in the employ of a detective agency retained by the coal companies. The killing of John Nimmo, a mine guard, by the strikers during one of the many skirmishes between them and the deputies was the crime for which Mr. Lawson was convicted. No effort was made to prove that he fired the fatal shot. He was held responsible for the death of Nimmo because he was leading the strike and was at the Ludlow tent colony on the day of the battle. Nimmo was one of a small army of deputy sheriffs, employed and paid by the coal companies and deputized by subservient sheriffs who had made little or no effort to investigate their records. Thus Sheriff Jefferson Farr, of Huerfano County, testified before this Commission that the men to whom he gave deputies' commissions might have been, so far as he knew, red-handed murderers fresh from the scene of their crimes. That many guards deputized in this illegal fashion and paid by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company were men of the lowest and most vicious character has been clearly established. That their function was to intimidate and harass the strikers had been demonstrated in the strike of 1903, 1904 and had been made apparent early in the present strike by the shooting to death of Gerald Lippiatt, a union organizer, in the streets of Trinidad immediately after the calling of the strike, by a Baldwin-Felts detective employed by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and its associates and deputized by the sheriff of Las Animas County. In fact, it was to these deputies, then masquerading as national guardsmen, that national guard officers attempted to attribute the murder, looting and pillage that accompanied the destruction of the Ludlow tent colony of strikers later in the strike.

"On August 17th the Supreme Court of Colorado issued an order prohibiting Judge Granby Hillyer, who presided at Mr. Lawson's trial, from presiding at other trials of strikers or strike leaders on the ground that he had been, just prior to his appointment, an attorney for the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the other operators. The Court also issued a writ of supersedeas permitting the Lawson case to come before it on its merits.

"The prosecution and conviction of Mr. Lawson under these circumstances, and his sentence to life imprisonment at hard labor, marked the lowest depths of the prostitution of Colorado's government to the will of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and its associates. It is the crowning infamy of all the infamous record in Colorado of American institutions perverted and debauched by selfish private interests. It is anarchism stripped of every pretense of even that chimerical idealism that fires the unbalanced mind of the bomb thrower. It is anarchism for profits and revenge, and it menaces the security and integrity of American institutions as they seldom have been menaced before.

"Attorney General Farrar's bias in favor of the owners and his conception of fairness is well shown by his comment

on the grand jury which met at Trinidad in August, 1914, and which under his direction returned indictments against 124 strikers and strike leaders. Of this jury Mr. Farrar testified before the Commission in Denver:

"'I desire to say here that regardless of the reports that have been made, I have never seen a more fair-minded body of men gathered together under conditions such as prevailed there than were the twelve men who constituted that grand jury, and the charges which were made that they were absolutely one-sided and partisan are absolutely without foundation whatever.'

"Following is the composition of this grand jury as reported by Mr. John A. Fitch, of the staff of *The Survey*, an investigator of established reliability and fairness:

"J. S. Caldwell, proprietor of a shoe store. Formerly with the Colorado Supply Company, the company store department of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company.

"James Roberts, public trustee. Secretary to F. R. Wood, president of the Temple Fuel Company.

"Charles Rapp, assistant cashier Trinidad National Bank, of which W. J. Murray, general manager of the Victor-American Fuel Company is stockholder and director. Formerly with Colorado Supply Company.

"Henry C. Cossam, rancher. Deputy Sheriff since April 25, 1914. Participated in one of the so-called battles.

"J. H. Wilson, real estate and insurance agent. Deputy sheriff since September 30, 1909. In charge of the deputies who attacked the Forbes tent colony October 17, 1913.

"William C. Riggs, rancher, whose son, W. E. Riggs, has been a deputy sheriff since January 20, 1911, and was in some of the battles in the fall of 1913.

"J. W. Davis, a Trinidad barber.

"D. J. Herron, life insurance agent in Trinidad.

"E. E. Phillips, rancher, Hoehne, Colo.

"John Webber, a Trinidad merchant.

"Frank Godden, proprietor Hotel St. Elmo, Trinidad.

"David West, justice of the peace, Aguilar, Colo.

"Mr. Farrar's bias is further indicated by these additional extracts from his testimony at Denver:

"Chairman Walsh: 'What steps, if any, did you take to ascertain whether or not the military authorities and other authorities of the strike down there were acting in conformity with the constitution and statutes of the State, and whether or not the civil authorities were being deprived in any way of their powers?'

"'General Farrar: 'Very little. During the time the militia was there, I was not in touch with the situation in an official capacity, except as it came to me through the Governor with the exception of one or two instances. General Chase and I did not have any conference. He was at Trinidad, and during the time the militia was in the field I was not at Trinidad although on two occasions I sent my deputy down to Trinidad, in order to be able to assist along certain lines which were then under discussion. And I therefore say that my relationship with the military authorities was largely indirectly through the Governor. I did, of course, know in a general way what was being done down there, and what lines were being followed; but it was not a definite daily report or information coming to me. I will say further in that respect that there were a number of attorneys in the National Guard, and that some of these were advising General Chase as to the local situation. My advice was, of course, of a more general nature and was always to the Governor with the exception of the two occasions when General Chase and I met in conference here.'

"Chairman Walsh: 'Do you know whether or not the testimony taken before the Military Commission, of which Major Boughton was the head, was preserved?'

"General Farrar: 'No, I know nothing of it. I have never seen the testimony and cannot answer your question.'

"Chairman Walsh: 'Did your office make any effort to ascertain whether or not the civil rights of any person had been violated or abused?'

"General Farrar: 'You mean by this Military Commission?'

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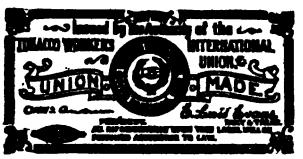

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Editorial.

Are we going to make the most of our opportunities politically or are we going to be pawns? A pawn on a chess-board is of little value; it is an ambitionless part of the game; it aspires to nothing, and is pawned when the player sees fit. Remember we have only eighteen labor men in Congress and to do effective work we must have more.

Have you in your district a man who carries a union card who could properly represent Labor in Congress, to put in the field against the one who has misrepresented Labor? If you have, get in behind him and send him to Congress to represent you. You need him, and we all need him.

Freedom of speech, so dearly bought in this country, which at the whim of the Chief of Police of Columbus, Ohio, was so arbitrarily suspended for a season, has been re-established by a jury in Judge Berry's Court, who dismissed the charges against all the organizers who only asserted their legal rights in addressing the striking machinists.

The jury should have taken up the case of the police chief who would so far prostitute his high office in the suppression of God-given and law-given liberties of speech. Such things do happen and frequently in the monarchial countries of Europe, but to attempt such a travesty on justice in this country is too much. Such an officer should be impeached and dismissed in disgrace. If that was the procedure, there would be fewer judges and police chiefs who would at the bequest of some employers transgress the legal rights of the people.

We hear too frequently the statement that "a ring or a clique is running the union." The people that make these statements are the ones who absent themselves from the meetings and have no right to offer any criticism of what has been done when they are not there.

A ring or a clique in the usually meant term is composed of a few persons to whom is left the legislative work, for all the trouble is, that the absentees fail to keep on the inside of the ring. If they would all attend the meetings the ring would be so large that all would bear the responsibility for the legislation that was enacted. If all would attend the meetings nobody would be more delighted than the much berated ring or clique.

The member who does not attend the meetings of his local union has no kick coming and should cut out his curbstone knocking.

Of all the agencies for good and the betterment of the human race there is none that gives greater returns individually and collectively than the labor movement. It works silently, persistently, and unceasingly for the good of the people both in and out of its ranks.

Its authority breeds and instills temperance in all things, educates its members

to the knowledge of things good and wise. Its influence, like oil poured on water, spreads to everything within its reach, and it works twenty-four hours per day for the uplift of the human family. It gives hope where despair was rampant; it gives freedom where slavery prevailed. Its potential force knows no limit. It bears the burdens and gives a breathing space where strangulation held sway. It is a champion of justice and protects against wrong. In short, it is the greatest missionary institution under the sun. Who would deny it? No one can with any degree of success.

The President of the Chicago Board of Education takes the position that teachers should not organize into unions. He says that, "Unions are all right, but a union is not the place for people who have chosen a profession as their vocation."

Why the prohibition of unionism in professions? Is it the fear that the unions can successfully combat the rings that surround some of them, especially Boards of Education, where the boss makes the teachers dance to any tune he chooses to play on the Board fiddle? Are teachers not wage earners? They are just as much wage earners as the hod carriers, the essential difference is, that the hod carriers earns twice as much as the teachers and is not subject to nearly so much political net work.

The Educational Boards of this country are taking a position that they will have cause to regret when the necessary changes in the laws are made governing our Educational system. The attitudes assumed by such persons as President Loeb are the very things that will hasten the adoption of reform legislation in the government of our school system.

In an address made before the recent convention of the International Association of Machinists, President Gompers presented some salient facts touching upon the progress that has, and is now being made by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions.

In touching upon the progress that is being made, he said in part as follows:

"I join with the impatience of all those who feel as I do in the apparent slow growth of our movement. I am impatient, like you, for greater success, greater achievements, larger vision and higher ideals. But I can't go with you if you fail to understand and appreciate the wonderful success which has attended the trade union movement.

"When we realize the result of the struggle that has put light into the life, hope into the hearts, and satisfaction into the minds of the workers, with a grim determination to strive on and struggle on for a greater part in the world's production of wealth, I say to you there is no cause for discouragement. That which we have accomplished whets our appetite for still greater achievements in the light and life of the workers of America.

"A few months ago there came upon the industrial horizon a thunderbolt which astonished friends and skeptics. Mr. Charles Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners, published a statement in the official magazine of that organization in which he declared that the failure and almost destruction of the organization was due to the false policy that organization has pursued for more than 20 years.

"That which I have tried to say to you is summed up in the general and specific statements made by President Moyer."

We all recognize the fact that we are not progressing as fast as our cherished hopes wish, but we have the satisfaction that our American movement keeps going ahead little by little. At times we feel restive under spells that are not to say encouraging, and break out in our impatience perhaps close to intemperance of speech, which when spoken we realize the obstacles that are confronting us and retarding our progress and we come to the sober judgment that the character and method prompting our activities have not been as yet outclassed. Some have in their impatient and intemperate moments followed leads from the main road of trade unionism and have found the new lead led into a jungle, and in this jungle the beasts have been found to know the jungle paths best. Retreats have had to be made to the home base with the consequent loss of much good time and much

hard earned money and loss of membership, only to start out again on the only road that has as yet proved successful in the organization of the workers. There are no royals or short-cuts to permanent success in the trade union movement any more than there is in any other line. What we get we must earn, and sometimes we must pay prices that do not appear in bargain sale sheets. The union that acquires at a bargain sale usually has time for sober reflection later on, on the subject of wondering what became of the material that a flood tide floated in.

In the hope (as they think) to make their fanatical minds give stronger focus upon the object of their accomplishment and to bring others to their way of thinking, the Prohibitionists have added to their campaign propaganda a tirade against the use of tobacco in any form. This self-constituted aggregation of guardians of the public morals, if they had their way, would soon have the liberties so dearly bought during the early history of this country so abridged that our last condition will be worse than the first.

We clip the following from the *Mixer and Server*, which will be of interest to our readers:

TOBACCO FILTH.

(Menace to Health)

To put tobacco smoke in any public place,
Is a dirty shame and a foul disgrace.
A Board of Health that permits such a thing,
Should from the highest gallows get a swing.
If our Health Board had a healthy head,
Tobacco filth and stinks would all be dead.

"Fiends" who use the vile cigarette
Should daily get a strong Turkish sweat;
This will help to keep open the pores
And save the body from festering sores.
Such cattle should be made live outdoors;
'Tis suicide to be where such thing snores.

The chap who uses the filthy "chaw,"
Deforming all his face—see his jaw,
Then all the dirt and filth he makes,
He's more dangerous than one with snakes.

See the sidewalks from these filthy men;
See the dirt and form your opinion then.
Put the Referendum in quick motion;
Put a stop to this stink commotion.
People who have a decent realization
Should kill this brand of civilization.
'Tis abominable—the stink is everywhere.
Why permit anyone to poison the air?

Suffragettes cannot gain our applause
While they tolerate these unnatural laws—
Of using booze and the tobacco weed,
For which man has no more earthly need
Than to wear (at once) ten suits of tweed.
Redeem yourselves with reasonable speed!

Our teachers, who get titles and big fees,
And turn their class of prodigies,
Should be made go on bended knees
And travel a mile before they cease.
Had teachers done their full duty in our schools,
We'd not be a race of dope-using fools.

Man's sense is inferior to the babboon's
WHO'LL BUY ANYTHING SOLD IN SALOONS.
His soul's salvation—the richest boon,
God will ask an account of it right soon.
Will you lose your soul to gain the world?
And then into the hot flames be hurled.

If a D. D. (for pay) says dope doesn't hurt,
Must we go on forever eating dirt?
Have God for your guide in travail and spurt,
And you'll go through life's trials unhurt.
These human things are false in every pore,
Their cry is MONEY! MONEY! Give us more!

For money you're exploited with the dope
By lads who care not for God or Pope.
Religion with them is just a huge joke,
These humbugs, Angels and Saints provoke,
Their great thoughts are on juicy beef,
They'll take MONEY from liquor man or thief.

—*Beakstown Bard.*

Send one to a dope-using friend;
Let's bring this nastiness to an end.

The Beakstown Bard, whoever he may be, has an imitator, for one rhymester adds the two verses which follow:

Some ralliers, in ranks of the Holy Name,
Puff the rank smoke to their own stupid shame.
They leave the ranks to saloon sideways sneak,
Then make an excuse—their "kidneys are weak."
They worship dope more than they do God.
Their backs ought to be blistered with the rod.

The perjurious chaps in our City Hall,
Not enforcing laws, are guiltiest of all.
The cure is "VOTE FOR PRO-HI-BI-TION,"
Then you'll have a sane and clean condition.
Now there's no safety for property or life,
An hour may make a widow of your wife.

This is not the first time the weed has been coupled up with liquor. In the Virginia campaign, a few years ago, there was quite an effort put forth to include tobacco as a prohibited article of use.

J. L. S.

Is this country to be governed by all the people or by only a small portion of them? If the liberty loving people of the United States do not wake up to the realization of the direction they are drifting they will have a condition of 1776 all over again, and that meant fight, and it will mean fight again, only many times worse.

PRESS ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON THE COLORADO STRIKE.

Continued from page 7

"Chairman Walsh: 'Yes, by the Military Commission.'

"General Farrar: 'Yes.'

"Chairman Walsh: 'Was there any such abuse or violation?'

"General Farrar: 'Not that I was able to learn. Now I must qualify that by saying that I have not seen the testimony and my information concerning it is of a general nature.' * * *

"Asked by Chairman Walsh: 'Have you ever gone over the list (of National Guardsmen) to ascertain whether or not the law had been violated in reference to the enrollment of the men in the mine?' He replied: 'Only through consulting the officers in charge of that matter.'

"Chairman Walsh: 'What steps, if any, have been taken by your office to investigate the occurrence at Ludlow of April 20, 1914?'

"General Farrar: 'I have taken every opportunity or every step which opportunity afforded me As stated before, I did not have and have not seen the testimony—the evidence taken by the Military Court Marshal, relative to that question.'

* * * * * * * * *

"Chairman Walsh: 'I am asked to inquire of you if you know about the looting of saloons and the destruction and confiscating of liquors in the Snodgrass store at Ludlow, also the complete destruction of bakeries, rooming houses and private residences at Ludlow by the militia?'

"General Farrar: 'I know nothing of it.'

"General Farrar did give his attention to the question of whether or not the State troops acted legally under Governor Ammon's original orders, prohibiting them from acting as escorts for imported strikebreakers. He testified before this Commission that he went to Governor Ammons and advised him that such a policy was not justified by law and should be abandoned.

"The same authorities who conducted this and other successful prosecutions of strikers have taken no steps to prosecute Lieutenant K. Linderfelt, of the Colorado National Guard, or other members of the guard who took part in the wanton slaughter of three unarmed strikers held prisoners at Ludlow, and in the burning of the Ludlow tent colony which resulted in the death by suffocation and burning of thirteen women and children. Yet at the coroner's inquest a doctor who examined the body of Louis Tikas, one of the slain strikers, testified that a blow on the head, dealt by Lieut. Linderfelt with the stock of his rifle, was so severe that it might have caused death even had Tikas not been shot three times through the body as he lay prostrate on the

ground by men under Linderfelt's command. It is true that Lieut. Linderfelt and other members of the guard were tried by a court marshal composed of their fellow officers, and that trifling demotions in rank were assessed as punishment. Nor have the same authorities taken steps to prosecute officials and directors of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in spite of evidence gathered by the Commission, and which has become common knowledge, that these officials through their agents and subordinates created a private army of armed guards and later procured the enlistment of these gunmen in the militia, and of well-substantiated charges that these disreputable agents of the company in the guise of militiamen committed various crimes from robbery, burglary and arson to murder.

"The prosecution of Mr. Lawson and many other strikers and union officials was undertaken and conducted in compliance with the stand taken by the present Governor and the present Attorney General during their campaign for election in favor of 'law and order.' Their conduct since taking office must be considered a confirmation of the charge made by their political opponents during the campaign that in standing for 'law and order' they were in reality standing for the coal operators against the strikers, for industrial absolutism against industrial democracy, and that their conception of maintaining law and order was the ruthless suppression of the strike and imprisonment or execution of the men who dared to lead it, this to serve as an object lesson to others who might attempt to lead a similar revolt in the future."

Discussing the causes of the strike the report says:

CAUSES OF THE STRIKE.

"The Colorado strike was a revolt by whole communities against arbitrary economic, political and social domination by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the smaller coal mining companies that followed its lead. This domination has been carried on to such an extreme that two entire counties of southern Colorado for years have been deprived of popular government, while large groups of their citizens have been stripped of their liberties, robbed of portions of their earnings, subjected to ruthless persecution and abuse, and reduced to a state of economic and political serfdom. Not only the government of these counties, but of the State, has been brought under this domination and forced or induced to do the companies' bidding, and the same companies have even flouted the will of the people of the nation as expressed by the President of the United States.

"Economic domination was achieved by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co., and its followers through the ruthless suppression of unionism, accomplished by the use of the power of summary discharge, the black list, armed guards and spies, and by the active aid of venal State, county and town officials, who placed the entire machinery of the law at the disposal of the companies in their persecution of organizers and union members.

"This economic domination was maintained by the companies in order that they might be free to obey or disregard State laws governing coal mining as they pleased; arbitrarily determine wages and working conditions; and retain arbitrary power to discharge without stated cause. The power to discharge was in turn used as a club to force employes and their families to submit to company control of every activity in the mining communities, from the selling of liquor and groceries to the choice of teachers, ministers of the gospel, election judges, and town and county officials. In the cases of several companies, the suppression of unionism was used also to deny checkweighmen to the men in order that the miners might be cheated of part of their earnings.

"Political domination was achieved by the companies by the use of their monopoly of employment to suppress free speech, free press and free assembly, by the appointment of company officials as election judges, by the formation of a political partnership with the liquor interests, and, in the case of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, also by the expenditure of large sums of money to influence votes during campaigns, and by resort to other forms of fraud and corruption. Where a public official refused

to do their bidding, he was whipped into line through pressure from interests that responded to the economic power of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and its followers.

"This political domination was maintained by the companies in order that they might ignore or defy State laws enacted to safeguard the interests of their employes, prevent legislation by State or county unfavorable to their interests and obtain such legislation as they wished, control coroners and judges and thus prevent injured employes from collecting damages; and flagrantly disregard the constitutional and statutory guarantees that otherwise would have prevented them from procuring the imprisonment, deportation or killing of union organizers and strikers.

"The policies and acts of the executive officials of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, and of the other companies that acted with them, had the hearty support and endorsement of the greatest and most powerful financial interest in America, that of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who controlled the company through ownership of approximately 40 per cent. of its stock and bonds. Letters from Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., heartily approving of his company's refusal to meet representatives of the strikers, of the measures taken to suppress the strike, and of the coercion of the governor that resulted in throwing the State troops on the side of the owners, were shown not only to executive officers of his company, but to other operators who followed its lead, and his support contributed largely to the unyielding and lawless policy that finally resulted in the horrors of the Ludlow massacre and the intervention of the Federal government.

"After the system of political and economic absolutism outlined above had driven the miners to revolt, the owners not only obstinately refused to admit the possibility of any grievance, but at a time when they could have prevented a strike by merely granting a conference to the union officials, they chose instead to refuse the conference and in doing so made themselves responsible for the disasters and tragedy that followed. Letters from the president and chairman of the executive board of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company to Mr. Rockefeller's office show that these officers fully realized the gravity of the situation before the strike, and also that they believed a strike could have been averted by the mere granting of a conference. Yet their refusal even to meet representatives of the union had from the beginning the warm approval and endorsement of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

"The refusal of the operators to accede to any plan for settlement involving a personal meeting between themselves and the strike leaders or any slightest recession from their original attitude continued throughout the strike, and eventually took the form of a rejection, amounting to rebuffal, of a plan that was urged upon them by the President of the United States and that was supported by the public opinion of the nation. This continued and persistent defiance of the public interest, as that interest was urged upon them by the highest representative of the people, continued to have the support and endorsement of Mr. Rockefeller, without which there is doubt that it could have been sustained."

Discussing the situation in Colorado today, the report says:

"The defeat of the strike by the methods that have been described left the Colorado operators free to operate their properties exactly as they saw fit. The United Mine Workers have, at least temporarily, abandoned their effort to organize the miners, and the large operators other than the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company are as determined as ever that there shall be no democratic organization of the industry which they control.

"At the mines of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company a plan purporting to provide the miners with easy access to Company officials, and with other advantages of collective bargaining, has been announced by Mr. Rockefeller and his subordinates, and has been widely heralded by them as evidence that, the strike having been defeated, they are now willing to grant of their own free will and accord what they stubbornly refused to give under the duress of the strike. Before considering the merits of this plan it must be pointed out that the spirit actuat-

ing those who conceived and executed it was the spirit of men who give as a charity or a favor that which they had denied when demanded as a right. Even if we grant that the concession has substantial value, it must still be characterized not as a concession to democratic principles, but as an instance of that handing down of favors in which autocrats and despots always have delighted.

"But after a study of the plan as disclosed in the testimony of Mr. Rockefeller and Reverend Mr. Gaddis, and in the public announcements of President Welborn, it is found that it embodies none of the principles of effectual collective bargaining and instead is a hypocritical pretense of granting what is in reality withheld.

"The testimony and correspondence not only prove this, but they contain indisputable evidence that the plan was conceived and carried out, not for the purpose of aiding the Company's employes in Colorado, but for the purpose of ameliorating or removing the unfavorable criticism of Mr. Rockefeller which had arisen throughout the country following his rejection of President Wilson's plan of settlement, and which had found utterance even in those conservative circles and newspapers in Eastern cities where Mr. Rockefeller's self-esteem could not escape injury by such criticism.

"In considering the correspondence and testimony that will here be quoted, it must be borne in mind that Mr. Welborn is still the President of the Company and the dominating executive official on the ground in Colorado. If it appears that Mr. Welborn's spirit and attitude toward the new plan, as disclosed in his correspondence while this plan was being formulated, were such as to convince the recipient of his letters that he was temperamentally and by conviction unfitted for the carrying out of any plan for real collective bargaining, then Mr. Rockefeller's retention and continued support of Mr. Welborn must be taken as a measure of his own sincereity regarding the plan.

"Mr. Welborn's conception of collective bargaining and of an ideal arrangement for safeguarding the wage earners' interests is expressed in the following sentence in his letter of October 9, 1914:

"'I am impressed with the importance of so composing whatever committees are found advisable as to make it appear that they all represent one interest; in other words, that there is but one interest which is in every sense of the word common, yet having it understood that the committee is as free to consider any complaints or grievances of the men as though it were one actually of their own selection.'

"This notion that the interests of the employer and employe are common when applied to distribution of product is a fallacy that can hardly be advanced with sincerity by a man of intelligence. Yet it apparently animates Mr. Rockefeller's attitude, and he even considers it consistent with the existence of a system of collective bargaining. It need scarcely be pointed out, first, that the plan outlined by the letters and testimony here quoted does not provide an effective organization of the Company's own employes, and second, that if it did these employes would still be unable to maintain bargaining equality without the support of a nation-wide organization such as only the United Mine Workers can give.

"The correspondence and statements already quoted show that so far from being a plan that provides for collective bargaining, it is a plan conceived and executed by men who were determined that no element of real collective bargaining should enter into it.

"The effectiveness of such a plan lies wholly in its tendency to deceive the public and lull criticism, while permitting the Company to maintain its absolute power.

"Reverend Mr. Gaddis continued to serve the Company as superintendent of its Sociological Department until February, 1915, or several weeks after the date on which the new plan became operative. Testifying before this Commission at Washington, he said:

"'Of the much advertised welfare agent, "as a mediator between the Company and its employes," we believe his work will only tend to intensify the despicable oppressiveness of the past few years. One super at least has already been informed, sub rosa, that there need

be no undue concern about this new officer limiting their suzerainty. He had been in the field but a few weeks when he effected the discharge of a man with a family to support, on the word of a woman of questionable character. The evicted employe was given no opportunity to present his side of the case.

"'It is almost farce to presume that a pet appointee would fearlessly and impartially bring things to the surface, that would disturb the imperturbable equanimity of the one who must O. K. his monthly salary account.

"'The assembling of camp delegates in Bower's old office on January 19th, in which complaints were solicited; and a generally bumptious good time with free auto rides, banquet and theater party as a part of the program; in addition all expenses being paid to and from their respective camps, was a decided hit.

"'A good square kick could hardly be expected from such sources.

"'Again the remembrance of so many of their former comrades being "canned" for squealing would not be forgotten amidst the grandeur and informality of their temporary environment.

"'A few weeks after this meeting a representative from headquarters inquired of a super if "the men thought we were trying to put one over on them?" There is room for suspicion that "one is being put over on the public and that various investigating committees are having dust thrown into their eyes;" for presto, the lion has been changed into the lamb!

"'If the investigating committees can be kept out of Colorado for the next six months or a year the old shackles of oppression will have received so many new rivets, that it will take the hellish fires of another strike to loosen them.'"

The report charges that "no plan of any sort for hearing grievances and giving the men even a pretense of representation was favorably considered by the Company until, in rejecting President Wilson's plan of settlement it became necessary to propose some counter plan in order to appease public criticism."

The report charges that "Mr. Rockefeller made no effort to disclaim full responsibility as the controlling influence behind the operators until after the so-called Ludlow massacre." Discussing this point the report says:

"The evidence shows that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company played a master hand in determining the policy of the operators, and in maintaining that policy after it was announced. This Company mined from thirty-five to forty per cent. of the coal produced in Colorado and employed nearly three times as many miners as the second largest company. For more than ten years its largest stockholder and dominating director had been John D. Rockefeller, and since 1907 a personal representative of Mr. Rockefeller had been in active charge of its management as chairman of the board of directors, vice-president and treasurer. This official was Mr. L. M. Bowers, a man sixty-nine years of age, who had been employed by Mr. Rockefeller to manage various industries for twenty years, and whose deep-seated opposition and animosity toward labor unions and the practice of collective bargaining must have been well known to his employer when he was sent to Colorado to represent the Rockefeller interest."

[To be continued in next issue.]

WATER IS HARDER THAN IRON, AT HIGH VELOCITY.

Do you realize how hard water is when a boat sails through it at full speed? Water passing at fifty miles an hour is not the limpid liquid we are accustomed to bathe in. If you put your arm overboard from a hydroplane, running fifty miles an hour, and strike a wave crest, the probability is that you will break your arm or wrist, because at that speed the water has not time to give, or even to change shape, and striking it is like striking so much metal.

If a swordsman should enter one of the great hydraulic quarries, where a stream of water, under enormous head, is used to wash down hillsides, and attempt to cut into one of those streams, his sword would fly in pieces without being able to penetrate the water. The stream is like a bar of iron.

NO RIGHT RECOGNIZED BY INJUNCTION JUDGES.

TRINIDAD, COL., July 15.—Editor O'Neill, of the Trinidad *Free Press,* lets fly this round of shrapnel at labor injunctions:

"The injunction, as a general rule, recognizes scarcely any legal rights that are presumed to be guaranteed to American citizenship, and ignores the organic law of State and nation with as much insolence as was shown by a master to his slave in the ante-bellum days.

"Labor in its campaign against injunctions, is demanding no favors from our judicial department of government, but labor being conscious of judicial prostitution to protect privilege, is sounding a protest against the usurped power of courts, which usurpation of authority and power, is utilized to make more formidable the intrenched position of special interests and to weaken the citadel in which human rights are presumed to be safe from the ruthless hand of the destroyer.

"The courts are powerful and will resort to every weapon to retain the authority which has been exercised in the past, but the people, whose sovereign will created the judiciary, are mightier than the creature of their creation.

"The will of the people is as mighty as truth, and 'truth crushed to earth will rise again.'

"Labor is opposed to the injunction, for labor has long ago discovered that the injunction is the most favored weapon of the employer upon which he depends to defeat the strike and to put the boycott in the morgue.

"The campaign launched against the injunction may be a long drawn-out battle, but the brawn and bone of this country, standing under the flag of unionism, have no doubts as to the ultimate results."

MAKE DISCONTENT A CRIME.

ANNISTON, ALA., July 15.—Several years ago this State invented a principle and passed a law under which an employer could hold any person, once entering a contract, to serve as long as the employer pleased. The United States Supreme Court said the principle was wrong and the law was unconstitutional.

The Anniston city council is now singing the old song with a new tune, and has fixed things so that one man may quit, but that's the limit. The city council has awakened to industrial unrest, and has passed a law covering the question.

Hereafter it will be illegal for two or more persons to conspire for the purpose of preventing any other person, firm or corporation from carrying on any lawful business or interfering with same. To stop some judge from applying this law to other than workers, the city council provides that "nothing herein shall prevent any person from soliciting trade or business for a competitive business."

It is also unlawful for any one to "entice, decoy or persuade any apprentice or servant to leave the service or employment of his master."

In their love for peace and harmony, and to give fair warning to all fomenters of discontent, the city fathers provide that any violator of this peonage defender shall be sentenced to six months' hard labor on the streets of Anniston.

"Every one in our family is some kind of animal," said Jimmie to the amazed preacher.

"Why, you shouldn't say that!" the good man exclaimed.

"Well," said Jimmie, "mother's a dear, the baby is mother's little lamb, I'm the kid and dad's the goat."

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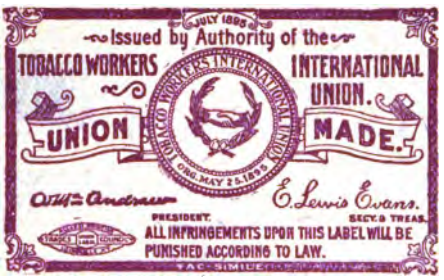

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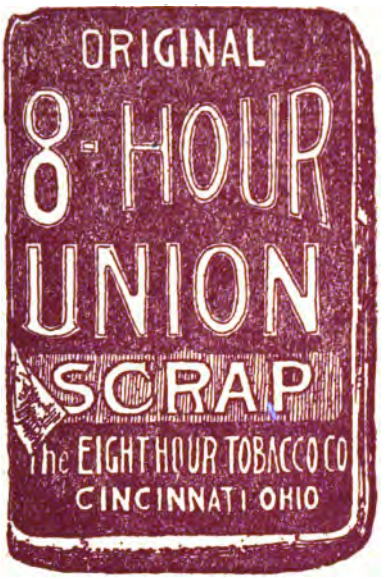

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The Tobacco Worker.

PRESS ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON THE COLORADO STRIKE.

By GEORGE P. WEST.

[*Ordered printed by resolution of the Commission.*]

Continued from July issue.

"From first to last Mr. Bowers, as shown by his letter to Mr. Rockefeller's office, saw nothing in the struggle of the miners for the right to organize for collective bargaining except a plot by 'socialists,' 'anarchists,' and 'political demagogues' to wrest the control of the mines from their owners. His letters to Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., early in the strike show him to have been bitter and prejudiced in the extreme, with an adherence to the individualistic economic doctrines of a century ago that was almost grotesque in its intensity.

"Back of Mr. Bowers and President Welborn in determining and maintaining the operator's policies stood John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose enthusiastic approval and indorsement of these policies gave incalculable moral and material support to both his own subordinates and to the executive officials of other companies. Mr. Rockefeller's indorsement and approval was accorded promptly at the beginning of the strike in the form of personal letters to Mr. Bowers, which were shown not only to the executive officers of the Company, but to the heads of other companies as well. It is greatly to be doubted if the Colorado operators could have maintained their unyielding and defiant attitude of opposition to the enlightened public opinion of the entire nation had they not been bulwarked by the material and moral power wielded by the possessor of the hugest private fortune in the world.

"Mr. Rockefeller's power to direct the policies of his own company is admitted and needs no discussion. But it is alleged that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was but one of many, and by itself unable to control the situation.

"Examination of the evidence shows that Mr. Rockefeller's agents admitted the company's leadership in the counsels of the operators during the first seven months of the strike.

"It was not until the horror of the Ludlow massacre had shocked and outraged the nation and brought upon its perpetrators the wrath and loathing of every decent citizen that Mr. Rockefeller, for the first time, makes the point that his company was but one of many, and that Mr. Bowers in Denver, his supreme self-complacency staggered for the minute, writes his employer, 'we have been given altogether too prominent a place in this trouble.'

"Mr. Bowers used this phrase five days after the Ludlow massacre. The same sudden desire to minimize his part in the affair apparently animated Mr. Rockefeller in New York at about the same time. Telegraphing to Mr. Bowers on April 26th, while the tide of the nation's anger still rose about him, Mr. Rockefeller asked:

"'How many coal companies are involved in the strike?'

"'What proportion of their normal total output does your company represent?' Answer ten West Fifty-fourth Street.

"Contrast Mr. Bower's modesty after Ludlow with his early boastfulness. On November 18 he wrote Mr. Rockefeller:

"'Personally the strain has been very

great on Mr. Welborn, who has been the recognized leader among the operators.'

"While Mr. Rockefeller may have fully believed that conditions in the Colorado mines had been greatly improved since Mr. Bowers was sent there, and were as good or better than conditions prevailing in other fields, it is submitted that even a cursory reading of Mr. Bower's letters should have revealed to his employer that here was a man temperamentally and intellectually incapable of dealing wisely and fairly with a strike involving the vital rights and interests of thousands of employes and their families, and seriously menacing the peace and well being of a State. Mr. Bowers' letters alone should have been sufficient to convince Mr. Rockefeller that the writer was irritable, arbitrary and obstinate to an exceptional degree; that he was a survival of the dark age of theory and practice regarding industrial relations; that he was ignorant of the characters and records of the men whom he opposed; and that finally his attitude toward the government of the State and nation was contemptuous, hostile and defiant.

"Nor could Mr. Rockefeller be acquitted even had Mr. Bowers concealed these qualities in his correspondence with 26 Broadway. From the day, seven days before the strike began, when he avoided an interview sought by a mediator of the Federal government, Mr. Rockefeller refused to enter upon any independent investigation in order to determine for himself the true situation in Colorado, before he threw all the enormous power of his personal support behind the men who set themselves to the task of crushing the revolt of 8,000 miners.

"Yet the men whose unsupported word he accepted were almost strangers to him. They were men who could not have admitted the grievances complained of without admitting themselves guilty of crimes against society. But their denial was all that Mr. Rockefeller required before projecting himself into the situation as a decisive factor.

"That Mr. Rockefeller's support of his Colorado officials became a factor of tremendous importance, if not a decisive factor, in preventing a peaceful settlement is made clear by a study of the testimony and correspondence.

"On May 13, 1913, Mr. Bowers wrote to Mr. Rockefeller's secretary: 'It is well known that the Rockefeller interests are managing the affairs of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co.' Business men, ministers, college professors, editors, and the general public knew that Mr. Bowers and Mr. Welborn represented the greatest financial interest in the world. They represented this interest in a comparatively new State, where dependence on 'Eastern capital' and the habit of sedulously cultivating the friendship of eastern investors still held. They represented the world's greatest investor in a community of small business men newly-arrived in the charmed circle of wealth and power and acutely sensitive to the glamor that surrounds the world's financially powerful.

"In the business community of Denver Mr. Rockefeller's agents had a prestige comparable to that of those strong men of Rome sent out from the world's capital to carry its grandeur into distant provinces. Three newspaper publishers, preachers of the gospel, obscure officers of the militia, looked to Mr. Rockefeller, a stranger in distant New York, for succor in their financial distress. When the United States government, warned of the discontent and the impending revolt in the coal fields, moved to prevent a disastrous strike, it was to Mr. Rockefeller's office in New York that this government sent its mediator. It was to Mr. Rockefeller that a Cabinet Officer appealed early in the strike, and Mr. Rockefeller's answer then, in contrast with his attitude after Ludlow, carried no denial or repudiation of his supreme authority and power."

There submitted many extracts from the correspondence between Messrs. Bowers and Rockefeller in Denver and Mr. Rockefeller, or members of his personal staff, at 26 Broadway, all bearing on the question of Mr. Rockefeller's responsibility.

The report continues:

"But Mr. Rockefeller's part in the Colorado conflict was not confined to these letters of praise and indorsement which so heartened and sustained the Colorado

operators. Prior to the massacre at Ludlow on April 20th, the letters proved quite sufficient for Mr. Rockefeller's purpose. But the storm of popular wrath that rose after Ludlow demanded more active participation. It was then that Mr. Rockefeller initiated the nation-wide publicity campaign by which he hoped to convince the country that the strikers, and not his company's mine-guard-militiamen, were responsible for the deaths of thirteen women and children who perished at Ludlow, and that the strike itself, instead of a struggle for freedom, was a revolt by bloodthirsty and anarchistic foreigners, led by men who obtained huge incomes from organized agitation and lawlessness.

"Still hiding behind his executive officials in Denver, Mr. Rockefeller employed a publicity expert and advanced him money from his personal funds to begin the campaign. He chose for the purpose Mr. Ivy L. Lee, publicity agent for the Pennsylvania Railroad. The President of that railroad consented that Mr. Lee should devote a part of his time to Mr. Rockefeller's service, and the pamphlets and bulletins were to be dispatched in bulk from Mr. Lee's Philadelphia office to Denver, for distribution from the office of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. They were to go forth under the name of the operators' committee, as correct information gathered and written on the scene by men familiar at first hand with the facts.

"Early in the summer of 1914 there began that remarkable publicity campaign by which Mr. Rockefeller flooded the nation with bulletin after bulletin, defending the coal operators and denouncing the strikers and their leaders. These bulletins contained false and deceptive statements. Salaries paid to officials of the United Mine Workers in Colorado for the year ending November, 1913, were conspicuously displayed as salaries for the nine weeks ending in that month. This gross and palpable slander was mailed to thousands of congressmen, editors, ministers of the gospel, school teachers, public officials, business and professional men whose names appeared on Mr. Lee's carefully prepared mailing lists. No correction was made until it had been exposed by this Commission during the hearing in Denver in December, 1914.

"The preparation and distribution of these bulletins was carried on with the greatest secrecy as to the authorship of Mr. Lee and as to his employment by Mr. Rockefeller. When this Commission demanded the name of the writers of the bulletins of Mr. Welborn, during the hearing in December, Mr. Welborn refused to answer until he had consulted his attorney. Even then he carefully refrained from revealing the fact that the publicity campaign had been initiated and paid for by Mr. Rockefeller.

"Has the Colorado strike opened the eyes of Mr. Rockefeller and his associates to the necessity, wisdom or moral obligation pointing toward radical concessions and changes in Colorado? The evidence justifying an affirmative answer is lacking.

"The Rev. Mr. Gaddis visited all the camps of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and had exceptional opportunity to meet the miners and superintendents and to ascertain the actual conditions. Testifying in May, 1915, he summed up his judgment of the situation existing in these camps in the following language:

"'I have never seen a situation to my mind more despicable and damnable. * * * * * It is an oligarchy that is controlling everything.'"

"The direct cause of the strike," says the report, "was the refusal of the mine owners, led by the Rockefeller Company, to grant a conference to representatives of the strikers." The report says, after relating at length efforts of the union officials to obtain a conference during the summer of 1913 and prior to the strike:

"Spies and local officials had kept the operators fully informed of the unrest existing in the coal camps. That this unrest was of long standing is shown by Mr. Bowers' letter of Sept. 19, 1913, to Mr. Murphy, in which he tells of the steps taken within the preceding year or two to forestall agitation. Before the strike began Mr. Welborn wrote to a director in New York, Mr. J. H. McClements, expressing the writer's anxiety and predicting that most of the men would go out if a strike was called.

"In his letter of Sept. 19 to Mr. Rocke-

feller's office, Mr. Bowers makes the significant admission that the operators believed they could avoid the strike by merely granting a conference to the union officials. He writes:

" 'The strike is called for the 23rd, but it is thought on the part of a good many operators that the officials, anticipating being whipped, will undertake to sneak out if they can secure even an interview with the operators, which so far as they have been unable to do, thus boasting before the public that they have secured the principal point; namely, recognition of the union.

"It was three days before the date of this letter that Mr. Rockefeller in New York had declined to see Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, of the United States Department of Labor, and instead had directed his attorney, Mr. Murphy, to receive Mr. Stewart and to refer him to the executive officials in Colorado.

"In the light of Mr. Bowers' admission that a mere conference would have prevented a strike, the operators' refusal to grant such a conference must be regarded as making them responsible for all the disasters that followed. For it was a policy opposed to the spirit and the practice of the times, and the state of mind which dictated it can only be explained on the theory that the habit of arbitrary power had fastened itself on the men who ruled the coal mining counties from their offices in Denver."

The report charges Mr. Rockefeller and other operators with misrepresenting the facts regarding a conference with striking employes held in Gov. Ammons' office on November 26, 1913. This conference led to the plan of settlement contained in Gov Ammons' letter of November 27th. The report says:

"The effort is made to convince the public that in meeting their men and accepting the Governor's proposition the operators conceded all that reasonable men could ask, and that the strikers in rejecting it became responsible for an unjustifiable continuance of the strike. Therefore it is important to arrive at a correct conclusion regarding the validity of the operator's action as an effort in good faith to meet the strikers half way and as a modification of their previous arbitrary refusal to yield an inch.

"But the most conclusive evidence regarding the bad faith of the operators in this alleged consent to meet their men is contained in the following extract from the examination of Mr. Ivy L. Lee at Washington, in May, 1915. Mr. Lee had visited Colorado and had become, since the strike, a director representing Mr. Rockefeller in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company:

"Commissioner Weinstock: 'Are you aware of the fact, Mr. Lee, that it was brought out in the testimony here, that the operators did meet with representatives of the strikers in the office of the Governor some two months after the strike took place?'

"Mr. Lee: 'Yes, that has been brought out, Mr. Weinstock; but I cannot say that I have been impressed with the fact that the representatives of the men who met the operators were truly representative.'

"Commissioner Weinstock: 'Now, will you explain in what way they did and did not represent the men?'

"Mr. Lee: 'Well, I just give you my impression. I have not been impressed with the representative character of that committee.'

"Commissioner Weinstock: 'Do you recall who the members were?'

"Mr. Lee: 'I do not. I simply give you a general impression. My feeling is that that was one serious mistake.'

"Commissioner Weinstock: 'Meeting these men in the office of the Governor?'

"Mr. Lee: 'It was the failure to meet the real representatives and talk it over with them.'

"Commissioner Weinstock: 'You don't know how these men were chosen that met in the Governor's office?'

"Mr. Lee: ' No; I simply give you my impression as to their general standing.' "

Discussing the company's rejection of President Wilson's plan of settlement, the report quotes a letter from Mr. Murphy, Mr. Rockefeller's attorney, to President Welborn as follows:

"The fact that the President of the United States has suggested a plan of settlement and has given it out to the public produces a delicate situation which

we have no doubt you gentlemen in the West will handle in the same careful and diplomatic way in which you have handled the whole situation thus far, avoiding on the one hand any entanglement with the labor union and on the other hand an attitude which would arouse a hostile public opinion. We are, of course, greatly interested, and if you think we can be of any service in helping you to prepare a reply we shall be most happy to collaborate on any draft of one which you may send us."

And the report adds:

"Mr. Rockefeller here sends his instruction that there be no entanglement with the labor union, which, it apparently was feared, might grow out of an acceptance of the President's plan. The letter of Mr. Murphy clearly conveys Mr. Rockefeller's wish that his Colorado officials shall not be unduly impressed or swayed from their course merely by a request from the President of the United States.

"Enough has been told to prove that a spirit of accommodation or conciliation at no time actuated either the Colorado operators or Mr. Rockefeller. The evidence is conclusive that such a spirit, if manifested, would have prevented the strike and all the disastrous events that accompanied it."

Discussing violence the report states that the first act of violence in connection with the strike was the killing of Gerald Lippiatt, an organizer for the union, by a Baldwin-Felts detective in the employ of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. It adds:

"But the question as to who committed the first act of violence is of minor importance. Conditions in the coal mining district were such that violence was inevitable. The testimony of Sheriff Jefferson Farr and former Undersheriff John McQuarrie proves that men accustomed to the ready use of a revolver or rifle had been imported into the district in large numbers from Texas, New Mexico, West Virginia, and other sections by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and its associates. These mercenary adventurers had been employed and armed by the coal companies prior to the strike, and had been given deputy sheriffs' commissions by the sheriffs of Las Animas and Huerfano Counties, who were political partners and agents of the coal companies.

"When the miners left their homes on company property and established tent colonies on land leased by the United Mine Workers, they knew that they could expect no protection from officers of the law. A sheriff who at the company's behest would deputize hundreds of men whom he had never seen, and who, for all he knew, 'might be red-handed murderers fresh from the scenes of their crimes,' could not be counted upon to safeguard the rights of striking employes of a company that was his partner in the liquor business and his political master. Mr. Lawson, the most prominent Colorado official of the United Mine Workers, knew from bitter experience how low the sheriff of Huerfano County would stoop to aid the operators and to crush the strike. The scene was set, so far as the operators were concerned, for a repetition of 1903 and 1904, when every constitutional right of the strikers had been violated and they had been deported, imprisoned and assaulted.

"At the inception of the strike it seems clear that the union officials and the strikers determined that 1903 was not to be repeated; that at the first attempt of the operators' private army to override their rights, there should be resistance. But it was clearly established that the operators had employed 326 armed mine guards in Huerfano County alone prior to September 1st, and that no step to arm the strikers was taken by union officials until twelve days after that date. Mr. Welborn gives September 12th as the first date when, it is alleged by the operators, arms were purchased of a Pueblo hardware dealer by agents of the union.

"In addition to the presence of large numbers of armed guards and the absence of honest and impartial public officials to control them, there existed the elements of violence that are common to all large strikes. The strikers had established tent colonies at strategic positions near the mouths of canyons in which the mines were situated, so that strike breakers going from the railroad

Continued on page 12

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E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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Editorial.

Some employers get so in love with themselves that they like the sound of the ringing bells of a welfare proposition for the people they have in their employ. They pay skinny wages and keep their people with their noses to the grindstone for long hours, and then state that the workers are so improvident that they never save anything out of their earnings. The bigger the Trust, the lower sound the bells; the bigger the Trust, the poorer the pay—somewhere between $1.40 to $2.00 per day.

Some of these fellows, seeking a place in the social sun, turn their minds to doing something that may be construed by the unthinking and uninitiated public as a grand plan. They start up some kind of welfare plan, old age pensions or something of the kind, in which can be hidden a pull-back string attached to a spring, which when pulled will deprive the employe of all rights under it. In advertising this scheme of social benevolence, however, this string is very carefully concealed from view and the public of course has only the bright side of the welfare proposition to judge it by. They do not know the skinny wages that are paid to the employes, who are in reality paying the piper, and the employer getting the social aggrandizement and being hailed as a philanthropist they pose in the sunlight and their employes must grind along on a starvation wage.

If the public really knew the facts in the case, a very different view would be taken of some of the much advertised welfare schemes. Why do not such employers pay their employes a decent wage, give them a chance to say a good word for their employer, and have a chance to live like American citizens, and raise their children as such, giving them a chance to become competent to battle with the worlds of troubles that are bound to come sooner or later in any station of life in which they may find themselves. If their employes were getting a decent wage there would be little use, from the wage earners' point of view, for these welfare schemes; they would then build for themselves the protection for old age which is never for long absent from their minds. It may be true that there are a few who are not frugal enough, but the percentage is too small to give any large warrant to the social aggrandizement schemes that have been forced upon the employes of many corporations. Many of the employes see through the scheme, having put it under the X-ray and noted the strings that are hidden away in its folds. They have no alternative; it is either get into it, or lose their jobs, so the lesser of the two evils is taken, but the most of them know that a string may be pulled on them at any time. They cannot open their mouths on the subject or a string will be pulled and they will be looking for another job in short order.

An old saw says, "listeners never hear

any good of themselves." A discovery has been made in the rooms in which President Mahon used in directing the recent strike of the Street Carmen had been secretly fitted with a dictagraph. It is safe to say that among other things recorded by the dictagraph, Mr. Shonts heard nothing particularly good of himself, and it is a question whether the records produced anything that did the great corporation any good. The little information gathered by the detective hounds was not enough to prevent the Street Carmen from organizing—the essential point of accomplishment. The joke seems to have been turned against the listeners. The Cinderella slipper, however, gave the implacement of the device to the world, it catching in the hole which was made in the floor of the room above President Mahon's room so that the recording disc could be secreted in the chandelier hanging in the room below. The detectives who installed the device no doubt made a good thing out of it, having been well paid for their work, but produced little

A Klan, self-constituted as a law and order regulator in San Francisco, were handed a jolt that they can nurse for some time to come, and it is to be hoped that they will now disband.

This Klan assumed the duties of prosecutor in the cases of some pickets who were doing their duties in a law-abiding way.

The judges in reviewing the cases in court learned of the Klan and its activities.

The prosecuting attorney told the judges that he was perfectly competent to handle the cases and had not solicited the proffered assistance which the Klan was so urgently pressing upon the court.

The Court pushed his glasses up over his forehead and in a way becoming the Court, politely informed the Klan that the District Attorney and the Court were amply competent to properly adjudicate the cases in court and render justice before the law without the Klan's assistance.

After the hearing of the cases the pickets were promptly discharged, they having not offended against the law.

The trade unionists in the State of Washington seem to be hoeing corn in a nasty field of stumps and roots here of late. The Antis have been putting all sorts of rocks in the way of progressive unionism, every attempt at improving the condition of the workers being met by some legislative obstacle. The latest move is one to prevent picketing of the place that is manifestly unfair to union labor. The Antis seem to be having an inning in the legislative game. The latest is the following and is a part of Section 1 of a statute:

"Whoever shall, for the purpose of carrying on, calling attention to, or advertising, directly or indirectly, any controversy, disagreement or dispute between any labor union or organization, or member or members thereof and any person engaged in any lawful business, or his employe, or for the purpose of hindering or preventing such person from conducting his business in any lawful way, or employing or retaining in his employ any person who may lawfully engage in such business."

The trade unionists are putting up a good stiff fight in defense of their rights, and though somewhat winded and showing some marks from the scrap, are still in the ring with plenty of fight in them and will win in the end if they stick to their knitting, and keep close up to their antagonist.

We wish our many friends in this "defense of rights" movement success, after a well-fought fight for right to live and the pursuit of happiness, liberty, and the right of free speech and freedom from tyranny and oppression.

The Russell Sage Foundation has for some time been devoting its energies to an investigation of the unskilled workers' conditions in Illinois, and in a report recently published, the findings are very interesting. It is hoped that the publicity given to the conditions found will lend help for the betterment of unskilled workers who have been so freely exploited and poorly paid. The report says "that the wages of unskilled male workers and the many women workers are too low to permit the women to support themselves decently or to permit men to

suport an average family of five in American decency."

Considerable space is given to the salesgirls which is a class of workers who are exploited in a shameful manner. It thinks that organization of this class of employes would be most beneficial, but it acknowledges that the task is a very difficult one; the unthinking public may be reached and made conversant with the conditions these girls are compelled to work under, but are powerless to help themselves. If the consumers could be made thoroughly conversant with these conditions, a movement could be set on foot to cause a withdrawal of patronage from the stores where it is known that low wages to the salesgirls prevails. The report also suggests that an agitation be started for a minimum wage legislation campaign; that the minimum shall be based upon an average cost for support of a girl who has to pay her own way while devoting her whole working hours in the store or other places where she may find employment.

In conclusion it recommends that a close study of the present situation be made for legislative action, and that the problem of unemployment be given a very careful consideration to the end that some measures of relief may be made effective.

The Rockefeller plan (or union) has been given time to develop any good that may be in it, but as yet the good report of the corporation "union" has failed to materialize.

The miners, since the adoption of the plan by Mr. Rockefeller, have kept their hands off, giving the plan a chance to work out its own salvation. If we may judge the plan by its satisfactory working out, the whole thing might well be blue-penciled, as it is not working out at all; the fires of discontent are continually manifesting themselves by puffs of smoke and flame breaking through the crust or blanket that has been spread over the whole situation. The plan was accepted with a protest from the employes in the hope that it would have the effect of settling things down to a peaceful basis after the period of carnage with State official connivance.

The miners in Southern Colorado seem to have had enough of the paternal union and have substituted the trade union for it. They have organized under a charter from the United Mine Workers of America, and the first thing we hear, is a report supposed to emanate from the paternal Rockefeller union that the miners want to strike. The men have found that paternalism has the effect of stifling liberty of action and freedom of thought. They have tired of the plan of having their every action being made subject to the wishes of the boss; in other words, being subjugated to boss rule in all their rightful prerogatives of free men. The Rockefeller union might be tolerated in a few places in Europe, but it is repugnant to American ideas of freedom and liberty and standards for government of a free people.

Long hours of labor and overtime are two branches of the same thing that is gradually being eliminated. The employers have hung on, and on; refusing to heed the logic of the contention that long hours were harmful.

I even heard an employer once argue that long hours were promotive of good, because of the fact that the longer they worked the less mischief the employes would get into—rather a curious point of view—seemingly reasoning from the base that his employes were of the lower animal nature and did not know how to employ their time when not at work in the factory. We do not think that such a condition ever existed, unless he was such a slave to work that he mistook the pleasure of a baseball game, or some other pleasure-giving game for mischief hunting.

It is pleasing to note that a survey has recently be made by the English authorities in the factory districts in England, giving especial attention to the long- and short-hour shifts in various industries, and the different effects on the health of the workers. The report just published goes at the long-hour shifts with a sharp knife, especial attention having been given to the industries where women are employed.

The inspectors found that the short-hour shift workers were far and above the healthier than the long-hour shift.

The fatigue shown by the long-hour shift workers was very pronounced and in instances the examining physician, to whom the power had delegated, ordered the suspension from work until a healthful condition was restored.

The fierce nervous strain on the human frame to keep pace with modernized machinery, which produces today many times the product in a given shift over the old time methods, is forcing for health's sake the reducing of the working hours. It however, seems hard indeed for some employers to understand in a year's time as much will be turned out and better made under the Eight-hour Day than under the ten-hour day. From his point of view an employe is only a unit in the labyrinth of mechanical production. The machine costs money, but an employe's waiting list costs nothing. The machine must be kept running and the employe must run it. If one cannot do it, another on the waiting list is there to take his or her place.

Let us keep the Eight-hour campaign going at its full speed until it is genarally applied in all vocations, and as new mechanical methods improve and increase production we will lessen the working hours accordingly, as the greater production the greater the strain on the human frame and mind.

Hasten the coming of the Eight-hour Day.

The Snuff Workers in Memphis, Tenn., have just organized under a charter from the Tobacco Workers' International Union No. 134. For some time the employes of the Memphis branch of the American Snuff Company have felt the need of protection from organization, as the conditions of their employment was not what it might be, and as individuals they felt severely their importance, and in figuring the question up they found that the only way that they could get any remedy was through the concentration and centralizing the power of the many individuals through one central force. This being the only successful way in their minds, they consulted organizers Kennedy and Merker. A small number contributed the money for the charter, forwarding it to the International Office. Request was made for an International representative. International President being away the International Secretary took up the matter, and on August 12th an organizing meeting was held, at which about twenty persons were present and initiated. On motion adopted permanent organization was established and officers elected and installed. Addresses were made by organizers Kennedy and Merker and Secretary Evans.

It was decided that each member present was constituted a committee of one, whose duty was to bring one or more of the employes to a meeting to be held on Tuesday, the 15th. The committee's work was well done, as the Tuesday meeting had an attendance of eighty-five. Addresses were made on the value of organization, its aim and objects for accomplishment. About half of those present were of the gentler sex and when it came to signing up applications it was found that all present had given in their applications. The initiation ceremony was carried through and again a motion was passed constituting that those present should each be a committee of one whose duty was to bring at least one new member to a meeting called for Thursday, August 17th. This meeting was also a success, as the enrollment reached one hundred and forty-one. More addresses were made on the subject of organization, to which the closest attention was given, despite the terrible heat of the evening. The same plan of organization work on the part of the members was adopted and to be kept up until the entire list of employes in the shop were enrolled in under the charter.

A good set of officers was elected and were given good instructions as to their duties. The new union will affiliate with the Central Body at once and become an active unit in the Memphis movement, which is moving at a lively pace just now, so much so that organizers Kennedy and Merker are having a difficulty in keeping abreast of the work in hand.

Within the last month there have been organized the Street Carmen, the Ice Wagon Drivers and Tobacco Workers, and others are on the way. The Retail Clerks, Millwrights and several other trades, going at the rate they have been

for some time, Memphis will soon be well organized.

PRESS ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON THE COLORADO STRIKE.

Continued from page 7

stations to mines were forced to pass near them. The history of strikes shows that workmen on strike feel that they have a property interest in their jobs, and that other workmen who take their places and thus aid their employers to defeat are fit subjects for abuse, ridicule and violence.

"It is only by ostracising and intimidating strike breakers that organized workmen can hope to discourage the practice and thereby win in a struggle for higher wages or for industrial democracy. For after negotiation fails, their only means of exerting a compelling influence on the employer is to stop production by quitting work and to prevent a resumption of operations by keeping out strike breakers. And society, if it wishes to prevent violence in industrial disputes, has only two courses open: to prohibit strikes, and in so doing to establish involuntary servitude; or to prohibit the importation of strike breakers at least until the employers consent to meet officials of the strikers' union."

The report gives an account of the various riots and disorders and says:

"In all discussion and thought regarding violence in connection with the strike, the seeker after truth must remember that government existed in Southern Colorado only as an instrument of tyranny and oppression in the hands of the operators; that, once having dared to oppose that tyranny in a strike, the miners' only protection for themselves and their families lay in the physical force which they could muster.

"It remains to be seen how even the supreme authority of the State failed to protect them in their struggle for the right to work and live as free men and to bring up their children in an atmosphere where law and order was not synonymous with the anarchistic will of a lawless corporation."

One chapter of the report is devoted to the part played in policing the strike by the Colorado militia. It states that Governor Ammons when he called out the militia issued orders that they should not be used to escort imported strike-breakers from the railroad station to the mines. The report says:

"That this policy of Governor Ammons was not out of line with the correct theory of policing strikes is indicated by the fact that when the Federal troops entered the field seven months later similar orders were issued to them by the Secretary of War.

"The wisdom of prohibiting the importation of strike-breakers as a means of maintaining order has been amply demonstrated, but this policy rests on a firmer basis than its mere expediency. The record in Colorado shows that in 1903 and 1904, and again during the strike under discussion, the coal operators had no scruples in taking steps to displace men who for years had been attached to the mining communities by ties of family, friendships and love of State, with homeless and penniless immigrant workmen from distant states.

"The record shows that strike-breakers were imported in carload lots under the guard of private detectives who recruited them in distant cities, and that both on the train and after their arrival in Colorado they were treated more as chattels than as free men. Contracts in the possession of the Commission made by detective agencies engaged in such work show that these agencies guarantee against the escape of strike-breakers en route by providing guides for the front and rear entrances of the railway coaches. So extensive are the organizations of such agencies that strike-breakers can be supplied within a short time in any numbers.

"If employers and strike-breaking agencies are to be permitted to operate in this fashion without let or hindrance, it means that entire communities of home-making and home-loving citizens can be displaced almost over night by an army of homeless vagabonds, drawn from the scum of the labor markets of widely scattered cities. This practice makes wanderers of hard-working and home-loving men whose only offense is that they have taken part in a strike. It fills

strikers with hatred and leads inevitably to violence and finally it has a disastrous effect on the community and the State by working a deterioration in the quality of the citizenship."

The report charges that several weeks after the troops entered the field the mine owners coerced Governor Ammons into countermanding his orders and permitting the use of the militia to escort strike-breakers. On this point the report says:

"In spite of the occasional acts of violence the strike zone remained comparatively quiet so long as Governor Ammons' orders against the use of troops to escort imported strike-breakers remained in effect. The Governor's policy in this respect had been vigorously opposed by the operators, and immediately after the calling out of the troops they began a campaign to coerce the Governor into withdrawing his original orders and directing the troops to act as escorts for imported strike-breakers. Letters already quoted from Mr. Bowers, the highest executive official of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, to Mr. Rockefeller in New York show the methods pursued by the large companies. On November 18, 1913, he wrote:

"'You will be interested to know that we have been able to secure the co-operation of all the bankers of the city, who have had three or four interviews with our little cowboy Governor, agreeing to back the State and lend it all the funds necessary to maintain the militia and afford ample protection to men who are anxious to come up here from Texas, New Mexico and Kansas, together with some from states farther east. Besides the bankers, the Chamber of Commerce, the Real Estate Exchange, together with a great many of the best business men, have been urging the Governor to take steps to drive these vicious agitators out of the State. Another mighty power has been rounded up in behalf of the operators by the gathering together of fourteen of the editors of the most important newspapers in Denver, Pueblo, Trinidad, Walsenburg, Colorado Springs and other of the larger places in the State. They passed resolutions demanding that the Governor bring this strike to an end, as they found, upon most careful examination, that the real issue was the demand for recognition of the union, which they told the Governor would never be conceded by the operators as 90 per cent. of the miners themselves were non-union men, and therefore that issue should be dropped.

"'Still the Governor hobnobs with Hayes, Lawson, McLennan and the rest of the gang, and either refuses or begs for more time to bring the strike to an end or to amply protect the operators in bringing in outsiders to take the places of those who have left the State and those engaged in these murderous assaults whom we refuse to take back under any circumstances. Yet we are making a little headway.

"'There probably has never been such pressure brought to bear upon any Governor of this State by the strongest men in it as has been brought to bear upon Governor Ammons.'

"On December 22, 1913," says the report, "Mr. Bowers announced the success of this campaign of coercion in the following letter to Mr. Rockefeller:

"'If the Governor had acted on September 23 as he has been forced to act during the past few weeks, the strike would have never existed ten days.

"'We used every possible weapon to drive him into action, but he was glove-in-hand with the labor leaders and is today, but the big men of affairs have helped the operators in whipping the agitators, including the Governor.

"'Now these fellows are cursing him without regard for common decency, so everybody is giving him more or less taffy to keep him from backsliding. The enclosed is a sample of the resolutions being sent to him besides any number of personal letters.'"

The testimony of former United States Senator Thomas M. Patterson is quoted to show that the countermanding of this order by Governor Ammons resulted in throwing the militia entirely on the side of the operators and that they very soon after the original order had been rescinded the State troops, under General Chase, began to disregard the civil rights of the miners by imprisoning them without a

hearing and by exercising arbitrary power in controlling their movements.

The report states that the economic dependence of the State troops on the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and other operators has been fully established. President Welborn testified that his company had paid militiamen from $75,000 to $80,000 on certificates of indebtedness.

Mine guards and company employes were enlisted by the militia and paid by the companies and the troops became, in every sense, allies of the operators against the strikers. One troop of mine guards and company employes which took a prominent part in the so-called Ludlow massacre was enlisted with the knowledge and approval of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and of Mr. Rockefeller only a week before the massacre.

The report describes the destruction of the Ludlow tent colony with the deaths of thirteen women and children and five strikers, three of whom were murdered by the militiamen and mine guards while being held defenseless prisoners. It describes the virtual rebellion that followed.

In closing its discussion of the militia the report says:

"It seems of vast importance that it should be understood how nearly the situation in Colorado approached a condition of absolute prostration of government and of actual revolution. This is apparent not so much in the record of battles and skirmishes fought and lives lost, as in the evidences given above of the state of public feeling. It was apparent in the frankness with which strike leaders admitted that they were gathering and distributing arms, in the open admissions made by many strikers that they or others whom they named had taken part in one or the other of the various attacks, and in the refusal of the District Attorney of Las Animas County to take official notice of the killings which followed Ludlow. The rules of 'civilized warfare' formed the early criterion for public criticism of acts on either side during this period.

"Enlightened public sentiment existing in Denver and other Colorado communities found itself helpless of effective expression. That expression, of course, should have come through the State. This leads to the direct causes of the failure of government and of all the horrors that resulted from it. Their consideration is vitally important because there is no guarantee that the same cause may not operate again in Colorado or other states, and that some day they may produce a situation far more serious even than that under discussion.

"The State of Colorado through its military arm was rendered helpless to maintain law and order because that military arm had acted, not as an agent of the Commonwealth, but as an agent of the parties in interest, as an agent, this is, of the coal operators, as against the strikers.

"Only those who hope and pray for bloody revolution can contemplate the record of the Colorado National Guard and fail to see the need of measures that will make this branch of the government as representative of the people and as subservient to the people's will as other governmental agencies. Today there is ample evidence in Colorado to prove that the national guard is an instrument of oppression maintained for the purpose of intimidating and crushing workmen who go on strike in an effort to improve the conditions of life for themselves, their women and children, and to secure for themselves a larger measure of freedom from arbitrary power."

The report quotes at length from the testimony of the Reverend Eugene S. Gaddis, Superintendent of the Sociological Department of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, to show that the company's store system, its method of renting property to liquor dealers, and its hospital system, contributed to the unrest of the miners, and to the intolerable situation existing in the camps.

The companies are scored for their use of political power to control coroner's juries and other officials dealing with cases of personal injuries in the mines, in order to prevent miners from recovering damages for personal injuries in the courts.

The testimony of a former undersheriff is quoted to show that the mine superintendent is always consulted in making up a coroner's jury, and that the

sheriff of Huerfano County boasted of being a Colorado Fuel & Iron Company man.

Records are quoted to show that personal injury suits against the companies are practically unknown.

Testimony and letters by officials of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company are quoted to show that the companies control the churches in its camps and exercise a censorship over the sermons of the ministers.

On the subject of permitting the miners to employ checkweighmen, the report says:

"No more substantial cause for resentment could be imagined than this denial to the miners of any means to insure honest payment of wages. And in denying the right to organize, the companies must be convicted of doing just this. It is impossible to conceive of the citrus fruit growers in California sending their oranges and lemons to the Eastern market unweighed or unnumbered, and accepting the figures of the jobbers in the East as a basis of payment. Yet the situation would be analagous to that endured by the Colorado miners."

The reasons assigned by the operators for refusing to deal with the United Mine Workers are discussed at length. None of these reasons are declared to have been sufficient to justify the operators' refusal, and the animating reason is declared to have been merely the operators' unwillingness to brook any interference with their power.

Discussing concessions granted to the men, prior to the strike, by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, the report points out that all of these consist of rights already required by the laws of the State, several of which the company had previously violated. It declares that the company, in granting concessions, was animated not by respect for law or by desire to improve the conditions of their employes, but by the wish to forestall agitation by union organizers, and thus minimize the danger of a successful revolt. Letters from Mr. Bowers, Mr. Rockefeller's agent in Colorado, are quoted to substantiate this charge.

Mr. Bowers is also quoted at length to prove that political activity and domination by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company still exist in the mining communities. It calls attention to Mr. Bowers' admission that men, whom he himself characterized as cut-throats, were employed by the company as spies on their employes.

Discussing the use of political power, the report says:

"Most important of all benefits enjoyed by the companies as a result of their political control was the aid of subservient public officials in denying agitators or union officials access to the camps, during peace, and in intimidating, arresting, imprisoning and killing strikers and their leaders during strikes. This use of political control by the companies is more important than their use of it to ignore mining laws or to prevent the collection of damages for personal injuries, for the reason that it has effectually prevented the unionization of the mines. This unionization would have given the miners an economic weapon with which they themselves could have forced compliance with the law and by which they could have speedily broken the hold of the companies on government, by limiting the power of discharge, and thus establishing free speech, a free press and free assembly, and encouraging healthy discussion and agitation."

The report takes up at great length the five causes of the strike as set forth by the strikers, as follows:

1. Ignorance of the owners of the great coal producing properties concerning actual conditions under which their employes live and labor.

2. The lack of any proper sense of personal responsibility on the part of those owners, for what is wrong in those conditions.

3. The maintenance by the coal-mining operators of a modern system of monopolistic feudalism, with many of the evil features of the old feudalism, but without many of those features which made it somewhat beneficient.

4. Insistence by the operators upon their right to conduct a vast coal-producing business—a business in reality affected with a public interest—regardless of how their conduct may affect society at

large, and as if it were a small private business.

5. The unwillingness on the part of the operators to concede to their employes the right of effective organization, while themselves maintaining a complete combination and organization.

Testimony and letters are quoted at length to support the report's conclusion that each of these charges is fully justified by the facts.

Regarding the claim of the operators that their employes did not belong to the union and that the strike was forced by a minority, the report says:

"On September 15 the convention of miners was held at Trinidad. Whether or not the men who sat in this convention and who voted for the strike, were representatives of the great body of miners, is a subject of controversy. It is regarded as relatively unimportant, in its bearing on the state of mind of the mining communities, and their attitude toward a strike.

"Spies, camp marshals, and armed guards infested the mining camps and the city of Trinidad, and the miner who might wish to attend such a convention, or to attend local meetings for the selection of delegates, knew that to do so would be to incur prompt discharge and expulsion from the town.

"In Huerfano County alone, 326 men, many imported from other states, had been commissioned as deputy sheriffs by Sheriff Jefferson Farr prior to September 1. Sheriff Farr admitted, before this Commission, that for all he knew they might have been red-handed murderers, fresh from the scenes of their crimes, and that they were employed, armed, and paid by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and the other large companies. The first violence had already occurred in the killing of Gerald Lippiatt, a union organizer, who was shot down on a street in Trinidad by a detective in the employ of the operators.

"The convention voted to call a strike for September 25, 1913. On that day, from 8,000 to 10,000 miners, comprising from 40 to 100 per cent. of the employes at the various camps, packed their meager household belongings on carts and wagons, and, accompanied by their women and children, moved down the canyons through a drenching fall of snow, sleet, and rain, to the tent colonies that had been established by the union officials. This sudden exodus became necessary because, in a majority of the coal camps, the companies owned every house and every foot of ground. No more eloquent proof could be given of the intense discontent of the miners and their families, and of their determination to endure any hardship rather than remain at work under existing conditions."

Dealing with the character of the men employed in the coal camps, the report says:

To be continued

If you wish to succeed in life, make perseverance your bosom friend, experience your wise counselor, caution your elder brother, and hope your guardian genius.—Joseph Addison.

One hot July afternoon Rastus Johnson and his family of nine started away from home all togged out in their best, each carrying a supply of eatables. One of their benefactors happened to meet them on the road.

"Well, Uncle Rastus, where are you going with all your family so dressed up?" he asked.

"Well, boss," said Rastus, "doan' you know the circus am come to town?"

"Yes, but you can't afford to take all your family to the circus."

"Well, I'll tell yer, boss, it's jes' dis away with us. We done sol' the heatin' stove 'cause de winter am fur off—but de circus am here."—*National Monthly.*

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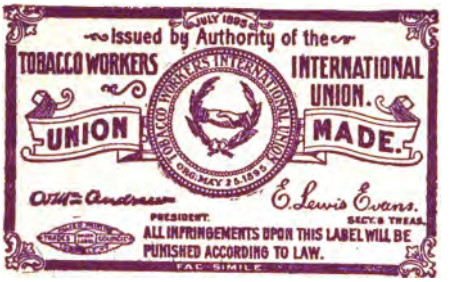

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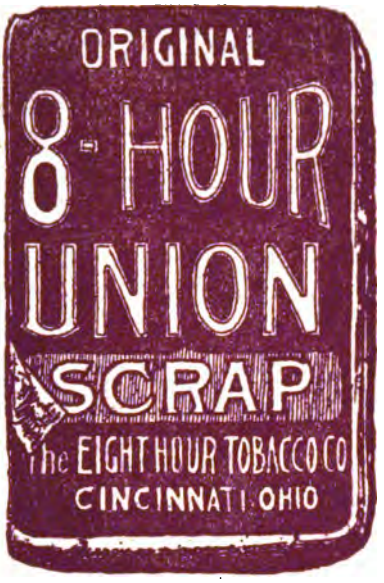

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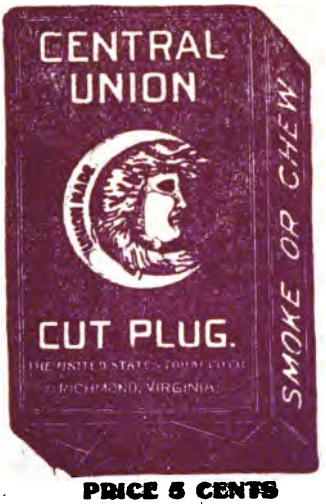

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Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 | September, 1916 | No. 9

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The Tobacco Worker.

TO LABOR.

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you.

The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand;
You hold the whole thing in your hand,
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you ne'er rose before,
Nor hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as ne'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!
Believe and dare and do!

—*Charlotte Perkins Stetson.*

WHAT LABOR IS TRYING TO DO.

[By Charles D. Shields in the Los Angeles *Citizen.*]

In Los Angeles there is a misunderstanding in regard to what labor is trying to do. From charges repeatedly made, one might think that it was trying to destroy the city.

Labor is not trying to destroy anything. Its nature is not destructive, but constructive. All it asks for is a fair chance. Hitherto it has been at the mercy of capital, and capital has shown little mercy.

It should be borne in mind that labor is not, as has been claimed in the past, a mere commodity. It is human power. It expends itself for the purpose of maintaining not only its own life, but the lives of those dependent upon it. And those dependent upon labor include the whole world. In the past they gave labor as little as possible. Consequently labor was abused and degraded and weakened. Out of the labor market, like a great pen of slavery, came millions to be sacrificed, consisting not only of men, but of women and children. For generations labor has been struggling to make this sacrifice impossible and to place itself on the basis where it belongs, where it can secure from the whole world the recognition of its service. It knows, and it is striving to make the world know, that, without it, human life cannot continue. As soon as a full understanding is reached it believes that its claims will be appreciated at their true worth and properly rewarded.

Labor asks, as its right, for a share in its results that shall enable the laborers to develop themselves as women and men, as mothers and fathers, as sisters and brothers. It asks as its right a voice in the shaping of the conditions that affect its own welfare, relating to health and to hours, and to regulations of service. Instead of doing harm to the world by its demands, it confidently asserts that it does good, through cooperating with the law that makes injury to the great mass of human beings harmful to all society, destructive to the generations of today, menacing to the generations to come.

From the charges made against workingmen it might reasonably be inferred that, some way, in being allowed to work they were granted a privilege. The absurdity of this attitude is plainly seen when one asks what Los Angeles would be without them. As a matter of fact, there would be no Los Angeles. Like every other city in the world, this great and beautiful city is a monument to the power of labor.

But does not capital count for anything? Surely it does. There would be no Los Angeles without the co-operation of capital. But what is capital? As all economists now agree, it is stored-up labor. It is the surplus that has gone to those who have made a profit from labor, the vast surplus that stands both for the teeming prosperity of the world and for the appalling economic inequality.

The labor movement in Los Angeles, like labor movements everywhere, is essentially humanitarian. It is a struggle against waste, against waste of human life, of human abilities and capacities, of responsibilities in the way of intellectual and moral and social development. It sees great rewards going to the few, and a bare living, or no living at all, going to the multitude. Moreover, it sees the few weakened and degraded by surfeit, even while the multitude suffers. Its ideal is the betterment of the whole race. It looks forward to the time when labor, instead of being despised as it is now, shall be honored, when the worth of a man shall be estimated, not in the money that comes from the toil of others, but in the service he is able to render society. It sees in the near future a general realization on the part of society that the gambling in labor, which is gambling in human life, must cease, and that a new ideal must be maintained, placing the welfare of mankind above the present concern of property. With confidence it looks to the enactment of laws safeguarding to every one that comes into the world a reasonable opportunity to make a living.

Labor is aware that already laws have been passed greatly ameliorating the conditions of the labor market, restricting the hours in certain departments, and protecting the women and children. But these laws do not reach the heart of the matter. They operate like parental kindness, like favors. They are only steps toward the establishing of conditions where all human beings brought into the world shall be trained to develop the best in their nature and to give their most efficient service.

The treatment of labor in the past is the tragedy of history. It has been blasphemously accepted and encouraged as the will of God. Now it is recognized as a result of the thoughtlessness, the selfishness and the shortsightedness of man. The hope of the future lies in the correction of this deep-seated blunder, which has weakened the foundations of human life throughout the world. In the recreating of society, with the rights of labor safeguarded, labor looks forward to a new era, far more wonderful than any yet known, rich with the promise of achievement and with the prospect of intellectual and moral advancement, giving the whole race a more certain hold on the principles of wise living that alone can lead to happiness.

THE SHARE OF LABOR.

Wage Will Be Great Or Small According To Effort Made By Workers.

The history of wars seems to be that they are followed by periods of extraordinary business activity. War stricken countries usually set out after the war is over to recreate the wealth that has been destroyed. This means large opportunities for employment to the available labor that is left when the cannon have got through. It means that labor is in demand; that those who do the work must be supplied with all the necessities of life in return for their wages and that there is opportunity for wage earners to earn a living.

The burden of recreating the wealth and of supplying all the necessities of life is upon the wage earners. What they shall get in return for their efforts depends very largely upon themselves.

War does not relieve the wage earners from the duty of maintaining his trade union organization. On the contrary, it intensifies that duty. We are not dis-

cussing ideals or chasing rainbows. To say that war is wrong or that the present system of industry is wrong or that labor is entitled to all it produces or to make other expressions of similar character are mere platitudes. The trade union movement exists for practical purposes in the practical present and the practical future. In spite of the fact that war is wrong, there is war, and after the war will come peace, not because peace is right, but because peace is inevitable, and with peace will come a quickening of industry and opportunity for the employment of labor all over the world.

And when that opportunity comes the share that labor will get will not be all it produces, because that is right in accordance with any theory, Utopian or otherwise, but the share that labor can secure through its own efforts. And if labor does not make any efforts its share will be less, and if labor unites and acts in concert its share will be greater, and this is true all the time, in war or in peace.

NOT A DEBATABLE QUESTION.

The eight-hour workday is no longer a debatable question or, as the railroad men have expressed it, the demand for eight hours is not a matter for arbitration. In the various articles that are published in the *American Federationist,* the demand for the shorter workday is the paramount economic demand. The short workday is a condition that must precede every other kind of betterment—physical, economic or social. The short-hour worker has sufficient physical and mental strength after the day's work is done to have ambition and energy to be something more than part of the machinery of production. Decreasing the hours of work increases the proportion of time that can be given to recuperation and self-development and all of the other activities of a normal human being. As a result, the short-hour workmen become more competent and productive workmen and their wages and standards are higher. Higher wages gives them the economic means for taking advantage of the increased opportunities possible through greater leisure.

The standards of living of those who work short hours are raised; their social intercourse takes on a different character; their tastes, desires, aspirations and needs become greater. The short-hour worker becomes a better citizen, a better man or woman, more capable of higher and better living. On the industrial side, from the employer's viewpoint, it has been proved over and over again that the shorter workday is a decided advantage. The short-hour workers become better and more efficient workers; their output is increased in quantity as well as quality. Employers who have given the eight-hour day more than a mere passing experiment aver they would not return to the regime of a longer workday.

Additional verification of this fact now comes from the Ford Motor Company. The Ford plant was originally run on the ten-hour basis. The long workday was attended by many industrial disadvantages, among which was the annoyance caused by the constant changes of workers. The "turnover," as the firm classed it, was both enormous and costly. The number of workers who left the employment of the company during each year was about equal to the number of new workers who were annually employed.

The hours of work were first reduced from ten to nine and wages were increased 15 per cent. A marked improvement in shop conditions and output resulted from this reduction. It was decided to go still further and the hours of work were reduced from nine to eight and pay was also increased. As a result of the establishment of the eight-hour workday there was a marked improvement in efficiency and output. The Ford Company is authority for the following statement:

"A certain group of men working nine hours under the old system assembled 750 radiators. The same group working eight hours under the new plan assembled 1,300 radiators. A group of men working nine hours under the old plan turned out 38 fenders. Under the new plan, working eight hours, the same men turned out 50 fenders. A group of 65 men working nine hours under the old system turned out 800 gas tanks. Under the new, working eight hours, the 65 men

turned out 1,200. Hours were reduced, wages increased and cost went down."

The extraordinary achievements during the last year in establishing the eight-hour workday or the shorter workday for a greater number of wage earners in all industries will have a far-reaching effect in our industrial progress and in national development. Regardless of any problems that may arise through necessity for readjustments, the workers of this country will not permit hours of work to be increased or present standards lowered.

Workers, organize, unite and federate; press home upon all the imperative demand for the eight-hour day!—*American Federationist.*

ARBITRATION IS SACRED—WHEN?

Presidential Candidate Hughes has seen fit during the last few days to express himself as strongly in favor of arbitration in industrial disputes. It is worthy of note that he did not say anything on the subject until negotiations between the railroad presidents and the brotherhoods had broken off and all opportunities for arbitration had gone by. As the champion of the railroad president's side of the controversy it is reasonable to presume that Mr. Hughes is in favor of the same sort of arbitration that these railroad officials and a great many other employers are. They are in favor of arbitrating conditions which the workers have already won. They are always in favor of playing the game when the cards are stacked so that they cannot lose. When the cards are not so stacked they are as the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco—"There is nothing to arbitrate."

When these representatives of big business are up against it so that they cannot secure delay in any other way they are willing to secure delay by a farcical arbitration. They are never willing to grant the conditions and then to arbitrate the question as to whether or not the conditions shall continue or whether the old conditions shall be re-established.

Arbitration becomes a sacred thing in the minds of some employers only when it is the one possible means left whereby to delay the just demands of employes.—*Witten W. Harris.*

FAKE "EFFICIENCY" LAID OUT.

The American Federation of Labor has achieved a tremendous victory of far-reaching consequence in protecting workers in certain trades against a pernicious system that threatened the manhood, the independence and the initiative of the workers of those trades. Particularly the workers in the metal trades have felt the impending danger of efforts to fasten upon them systems of so-called "scientific management." These systems are endeavoring to establish a new standard for paying wages, a standard that would inevitably undermine the health and mentality of workers, for it is a standard that aims directly to speed up the workers to the exhaust point and to instill mechanical habits of work.

In ordrer to protect the lives and health of workers, Congress incorporated into the sundry civil bill and fortifications bill the following proviso:

"*Provided,* That no part of the appropriations made in this act shall be available for the salary or pay of any officer, manager, superintendent, foreman, or other person having charge of the work of any employe of the United States while making or causing to be made with a stop-watch, or other time-measuring device, a time study of any job of any such employe between the starting and completion thereof, or of the movements of any such employe while engaged upon such works; nor shall any part of the appropriations made in this act be available to pay any premium or bonus or cash reward to any employe in addition to his regular wages, except for suggestions resulting in improvements or economy in the operation of any government plant."

These bills were approved by both houses of Congress and have been signed by the President. The same proviso is included in the naval and army bills. Thus the workers have secured congressional approval for their opposition to systems that have sought to give to a

new exploiting scheme the sanction of science and of efficient production.

Workers have proven by their actual experiences that stop-watch time-measuring systems are neither scientific nor are they in furtherance of most effective production. The workers are not opposed to methods or devices that facilitate production, but they are opposed to methods that dehumanize the workers.

The so-called scientific efficiency systems that have been thus far proposed are neither scientific nor efficient. The workers are in favor of methods that will enable them to become more effective, intelligent, resourceful participators in production. Such methods must necessarily be educational in nature.

The labor movement declares that effort to promote production in quality as well as quantity must have as their primary consideration the development of the creative power of the human agents. The principle that is contained in th eprovisos to these four legislative measures must later be enacted into specific provisions of enacted law.—*American Federationist.*

CAN YOU THINK?

Do you think? Try it! How?

Concentrate your thoughts upon a single subject for thirty seconds, one minute, two minutes, five minutes.

It is not so easy.

Ideas and notions which flit across the mind are not thoughts. They come and go in a second without leaving the slightest impression and in most instances never to return.

These elusive messengers, like an electric flash, flirt with the heart and play hide and seek between dormant brain cells.

When one of these ideas comes shooting like a sunbeam through the dark and dreary caves underneath your skull—grab it. Tie it to the soul with chains of thought.

Revolve it around for a few seconds over that mysterious territory of hills and dales called the cerebrum, until it finds a place to ladge and rest and recuperate. Ideas are nearly all good, but they must be nursed and warmed by thought into life and full fruition.

Clear thinking is a rare and priceless jewel. Nothing can withstand it. Adamant and armorplate, concrete and steel-crystalized, tempered thought cuts, pulverizes and smashes them all.

If the toilers could only learn to think, they would talk less and live more.

When great numbers think in unison the same thoughts, the result is unity and united mass action.

Labors' hope seeks and sighs for freedom. Yet labor cannot hope to gain much greater independence and freedom until labor severs the shackles which bind the mind. Crystalized and unified thought alone can accomplish this revolution of minds and achieve the solidarity and unity required in the uplift of mother earth's toiling and struggling millions.

Think with your brothers and sisters —think of the bread-winners and burden-bearers of the world—the earth's heavily laden.

Giant of labor, think why were you given power to think.—From *Organized Labor,* San Francisco.

HIS CONUNDRUMS.

"Pop, tell me some conundrums."

"Conundrums? Why I don't know any conundrums, my son!"

"Oh, yes you do! I heard mother tell Aunt Mary the other day that you keep her guessing most of the time."—Ex.

MADE BOTH ENDS MEET.

Flatbush—Times are not what they used to be.

Bensonhurst—Why not?

"Because when I was a kid I used to put my toe in my mouth, but, believe me, I can't make both ends meet now."—*Yonkers Statesman.*

The destiny of labor depends upon labor itself. Your power lies in your own brains and bodies. You must work out your own salvation.—*Frank P. Walsh.*

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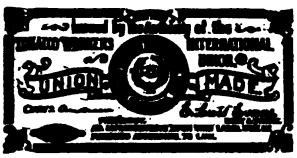

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Editorial.

Is it a fact that some of our union (card) men who can reel off the records of various players on their baseball team, could not tell you where to find the union label in a suit of clothes, or hat?

Don't you feel like dropping a tear after reading one of those Railroad Editorial Laments that have been threading the columns of the press? The poverty of the roads depicted is indeed lamentable.

President McAndrew has had his hands full in New York City for some days. The cigarette makers in eight factories in New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City all went out on strike on a demand for eight hours and time and one-half for overtime. All three places wanted his services at the same time, and each place needed him most. He has endeavored to divide himself into as many pieces as he could, but there was only one head to go to a place at a time. The street car systems being on strike made movement from one place to another rather slow, and taxies there just now come high, as they are in great demand. At this writing President McAndrew reports having gotten one union well under way and others started, and another waiting impatiently for his attention. There are several hundred workers affected by the movement for organization, and last report states that all the factories are closed down tight.

The National Manufacturers' Association, elated with the finality of the Hatters' case, are now going to try another case along similar lines, only this time the Moulders' Union, Local 110, of Bridgeport, Conn., is the direct object of the attack. All the homes and bank savings of the members have been attacked as in the Hatters' case. The suit is for $200,000 and the sheriff's office has been charged with the task of tracing up all property, personal and real estate, and savings accounts to make an attachment on, as security for the judgment. All banks and Trust Companies have been notified to make reports to the sheriff's office of any money or other property that may be in their charge that may belong to the Union or any of its members.

The Manufacturers' Association are treading on sands that will engulf them some day, as they are doing the very thing themselves that they have hoped to prevent being realized, and the very wise ones view these actions with more or less disfavor.

The sleeping giant of Labor is not yet conscious of its latent powers—powers that have never as yet been brought into active motion, and it is well for this radical element of the Manufacturers' Association that the workers have not yet awakened to their own possibilities and capabilities. When they do, "Mr. Put The Unions Out Of Business" will

wish he had not monkeyed with the beehive. Such movements as that, in the Hatters' case and now in the Moulders,' are all think-makers, and a sufficient number of these assaults will get Labor's think-boxes into motion, and it will be found that all the brains are not on the side of the Manufacturers' Association.

The powers and potency of Labor have never yet been in full operation against capitalistic oppression, owing quite largely to the fact that Labor's think-boxes have not had sufficient educational lubricant. The Manufacturers' Association cannot do a better thing to furnish a lubricant than to throw these mulcting bombs into Labor's trenches.

The few paltry dollars they may get will prove to be very small pay for the awakening of Labor's senses of proper proportions in the returns it receives for its production. The workers will be benefited by the awakening, and there will be some feelings of chagrin in other quarters.

When trouble overtakes us is no time to begin throwing bricks at the system that offends us, nor is it the time to take up the preaching of the gospel of despair. If we were out on a sandy desert in one of those sand storms we hear about, there might be some justification for almost despair, but in a country full of plenty, even though it is in the hands of a few, we should make up our minds that there must be a leak somewhere, or a vulnerable spot. It is then we should do our real best thinking and with an optimistic view of the situation we find ourselves in.

There are few of us who have not during the past span of our lives had the dark clouds of despair pass over us, and most of us can look back and truthfully say that the cloud had a silver lining, but we did not see it at the time we were feeling our worst, and despair and gloom came very nearly getting possession of us.

We trade unionists are of the most optimistic nature. Perhaps it is from the fact that we have so many dark clouds pass over us, and in each case we have seen the silver lining that, together with the consciousness of the potency of our unions to help in times of trouble, gives us an uplifting knowledge that scatters the clouds of despair and lets the sunshine of progress, coupled with unceasing effort, lead us to better things. The worst thing we can do when we get under one of these clouds is to sit down in despair and practically give up. When we do that, all friction stops, and the fog settles closer around us, befogs our brain and stifles our effort. Action and effort, a movement that pinches holes in the fog, is what is needed; something that will put us in motion, and that motion will scatter the fog and let the rays of the sun strike through the breaks our motion has made, and we see the word hope before us and a pathway out of our condition of despair. Hope on, fight on. *Nil desperandum.*

It is amusing to listen to some of Labor's opponents converse on the subject of Labor's demands, and then later turn in pastures that have affected their interests, but the opposition coming from their own class.

The Pullman car smoking departments could tell many funny stories along this line. A party of gentlemen sitting smoking and chatting on a night's trip were listened to by another who drew some comparisons on their trains of thought, causes, effect, etc. One of the gentlemen opened the pot with a vigorous assault on the unions, stating that Organized Labor ought to be curbed by Federal Law, as their demands were outrageous; the country was prosperous, and Labor was all employed at good wages, and the idea of them demanding more was an outrage on the public. This, and many other thrusts of similar character were exchanged. Most of the party were in agreement when the conversation flagged and Labor was tried, convicted and sentenced because of its boycotting, which was in their opinion un-American.

Some time later business matters became the theme, and this juicy piece of inconsistency was related:

In a Western town of about 100,000 inhabitants, there were a number of businesses scattered in various parts of the town, selling general wares and were

making a comfortable living therefrom. An Eastern man opened up a large business in the central part of town and went in for every kind of merchandise, and at times making considerable cuts in prices —making leaders of some of the staple articles of the trade. The smaller merchants were much chagrined to find their old customers passing them by and making their purchases at the bigger store.

The smaller fellows organized a club and invited all their fellow small business men to join them. This being done, they proceeded to discuss Mr. Department Store, and reach a conclusion as to what must be done with him and his price-cutting propensities. The conclusion reached was the appointing of a committee to interview Mr. Department Store and tell him that he will have to stop leader price-cutting, as he was taking their living away from them, which they as the older residents would not stand. Mr. Department Store demurred, stating they could meet his prices if they wanted to. This they would not do, and he continued as before.

Getting desperate at the loss of their trade, they went to Mr. Department Man and told him that if he did not stop trying to ruin their business they would put him out of business, as there weer a goodly number of them, and they had many friends who felt that he was injuring them and in turn they would resolve not to make purchases in places that would not hold up prices.

The Department Store man accepted their challenge, and a boycott was begun and waged for some time, finally ending up with the Department Store being sold out to local men.

The observer, in making a comparison of the two subjects under discussion, saw where he could have made a telling point when consistency was to be considered, but not being a party to the company, refrained from expressing his thoughts, and summed the subject in a few words —much depends upon whose ox is being gored. One touch of human nature makes us all kin.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, Brother Abraham Bachman has been removed from our midst by the Highest Power of the Universe, and

WHEREAS, Brother Abraham Bachman has been for the past thirteen years a very active member, being a member of the New York Advisory Board, shop steward and very active for the general cause of Organized Labor; therefore be it

Resolved, That we mourn the loss of one of our best members and sympathize with the bereaved family; and be it further

Resolved, That Local No. 100, T. W. I. U., send a copy of this resolution to be published in our official journal, that the charter of Local No. 100 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days, and a copy to be sent to the bereaved family.

L. MATLIN, *President,*
SAMUEL GINSBURG, *Rec. Sec'y.*

WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God, in His all-seeing wisdom, to take to Himself our esteemed and beloved brother member, Mr. W. A. Mullen, September 1, 1916. We mourn his loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore be it

Resolved, That Local No. 48 extend their sincerest sympathy to the bereaved mother and brothers in their sorrow, not to mention our own deepest feeling and regrets, and that our charter be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved mother and brothers of Mr. W. A. Mullen, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication, and a copy spread upon the minutes of the following meeting.

JOHN HUESTON, *President,*
A. H. BROUGHTON, *Rec. Sec'y.*
Local No. 48, Hamilton, Ont.

PRESS ABSTRACT OF REPORT ON THE COLORADO STRIKE.

BY GEORGE P. WEST.

[*Ordered printed by resolution of the Commission.*[

Continued from August issue.

"Coming as amazing evidence of the

repudiation of American principles by certain small but powerful groups, is the allegation frequently heard during the Colorado controversy that the inhabitants of the coal camps, being largely of foreign birth and speech, were incapable of either political self-government or of exercising a voice in determining their working conditions. Such an acceptance of the political philosophy that justified slavery half a century ago hardly needs serious consideration. Granting that social and political conditions in the coal camps could be worse than those which existed under coal company domination, and granting that they actually would be worse under a truly democratic control, the nation even then could not complacently tolerate a benevolent despotism. But no such concession can be made. There is ample testimony to prove the capacity for civic and social progress inherent in the populations of coal mining camps composed just as were those of southern Colorado—of a small minority of English-speaking miners and their families and a majority of recently-arrived Europeans. Besides the testimony of officials of the United Mine Workers who have studied the needs of the foreign-born miners and who have watched their progress, the Commission has the significant testimony from Francis S. Peabody, of Chicago, a mine owner who operates on a scale larger than that of any of the Colorado companies."

WHAT WORKMEN WANT.

Freedom of Speech, Justice and the Right To Organize.

In the course of a recent interview by a New York *World* reporter, William D. Mahon, president of the Amalgamated Association of Electric Street and Railway Employes, told the following story:

"We had a strike out in Indiana a while ago," he said, "and left it to arbitration, as we always aim to do. This time, however, the arbitrators gave us the worst of it. To do my best I couldn't wring from the board any concessions that seemed worth while, and I dreaded to report to the union. The union had been recognized, I told them, but the pay could not be raised that year. I simply told the facts and asked them how they felt about it and waited. One of the oldest men in the service jumped to the floor.

"'Hooray!' he yelled. 'I'm a free man. I've been a slave twenty-five years. I've cringed and lied and been a traitor to myself because I had to be. I couldn't talk in favor of a union, I knew I'd be fired if I did. A raise in pay might come handy to a lot of us, but it ain't in it with being free.' Tears were streaming down his face, and I guess they were down mine. All of us realized the way he felt. All of us had been up against it. It's this slavery—this depriving a man of his fundamental rights, free speech and united action—that is the worse thing about the situation wherever rapid transit employes are not organized. The pay here in New York is the worst of any large city I know. But the intimidation of the men is worse yet."

UNIONIST GAINS.

"The same bugaboo that for a long time hampered government clerks has handicapped the formation of school teachers' unions," says the editor of the official journal of the Bricklayers and Masons' Union.

"Both held to the theory that theirs was a profession, and felt that there was a loss of dignity in allying themselves with the ranks of union labor. Both have paused under the dome of reflection and now realize the fact that they are salaried employes, that they are subject to the same economic forces that regulate the wages of the carpenter, the bricklayer, the craftsman of all trades and callings, and both are realizing as never before that dignity is added to their calling by placing themselves in the ranks of unionism and not trying to pose as a class apart from the operation of economic principles."—*The Chronicle.*

The trade union movement incites the world to manlier deeds. It inspires sacrifices in times of trouble and distress and tends to unify all workers for the elimination of industrial injustice.

CHILD LABOR BILL.

Provisions of the New Law To Prevent Toil Of Children.

Without debate or record vote the child labor bill was accepted by the House of Representatives with the Senate amendments and put on its way to become law with President Wilson's signature.

The bill represents the result of years of struggle in Congress between forces urging the conservation of child life and those opposing it on many grounds, chiefly that it was a question for the states and not the Federal government.

It would not have become a law at this session of Congress had not President Wilson, after the Democratic caucus decided to eliminate it from the administration program, visited the capitol and insisted upon its inclusion.

As it originally passed the House, it proposed to bar from interstate commerce products on which child labor actually had been employed. As amended by the Senate and now perfected, it prohibits shipment between the states of all products of any establishment which employs child labor.

It bars products of any mine or quarry employing children under sixteen and products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory or manufacturing establishment employing children between fourteen and sixteen more than eight hours a day, more than six days a week or earlier than 6 o'clock in the morning or later than 7 o'clock in the evening.

The bill becomes effective a year after the date of the President's approval.

HONOR IN BEING A UNION MAN.

No person need feel ashamed of holding a paid-up card or a due book. No class of society or organization or philanthropist has done as much for the common people as the labor unions. Philanthropists build a home for the working men and women after they have left the home of their parents. Unions are making the home fireside fit for sons and daughters to remain in the true home—that of their parents—by increasing wages so that their father can support his family and make the home what it should be. Philanthropists build libraries, while unions shorten the hours of labor to give the workingmen time to read the books. Unions shorten the hours of labor to place more of the men to work who are willing to work. Cities build hospitals and the unions take care of the family while the breadwinner is in them.

Labor unions have fought to save the children from the factory and place them in the schools by having laws enacted and in increasing the wages of the fathers so that it would not be necessary to send the child to work. Labor unions have done more good among their members regarding morality and sobriety than any other class, through changing the surroundings of their members.

TRADE UNION AIMS.

The labor union does not make any pious pretensions, and it makes no claim as a religious institution. It has been too busy to build ceremonies and creeds. Its hands have been so busy lifting up the weak and feeding the hungry and wiping away the tears from sad human eyes that it has not schooled itself in sanctimonious attitudes.

In its devotion to the busy and practical things of life it has often made mistakes. Its leaders do not have much leisure to study or weigh philosophical or theological distinctions.

If religion means a selfi seeking for personal salvation—a desire to get to heaven at any cost; if sanctification means getting away from the scenes of sin and suffering—snugging the soul in some secluded sanctuary, sealed against the sights and sorrow and want—then the labor union is the most irreligious and unsanctified institution in the world.

Carlyle says that all true work is religion. The labor unions aim to make good work of them. It asks that the man who works shall have good pay for his work and a say in his work. It insists that the worker shall be intelligent and self-respecting; that he shall think and hold his head up beside his employer as

a Christian and citizen. It teaches the strong to help the weak, each to contribute to the good of all. It takes the child from the factory and puts it in the school. It takes the woman from the sweatshop and puts her in the home. It places chairs behind the counters of the stores for the weary girls who are obliged to work long hours for small pay. It places vestibules on street cars, secures jobs for the idle, and builds homes for the widows and orphans. Could a holy God ask more of a human institution?

EARLY MEXICO.

Conquest of the Indians By Spain Was a Gradual Task.

Before its discovery by the Spaniards, Mexico was occupied by several Indian races, the Nahuas, known as Aztecs, predominating. In 1518 the exploration of the Gulf coast by Grijalva was followed by the Spanish invasion in 1519, and the capture of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitean, in 1521. The Spanish colony thus formed was created into a viceroyalty and became the richest European possession in the new world, with the exception of Peru. The Spaniards extended their conquests even into what is now the territory of the United States. The viceroys had full sway over the territory, which was from the southern boundary of Costa Rica and Florida as well as the West Indies. However, in the eighteenth century the East Indies and Guatemala, or Central America, were separated. With the exception of a few Indian wars nothing molested the lives of splendor led by the viceroys. Great fortunes were amassed in the silver mines and in the East India trade.

CHILD LABOR BILL IS SIGNED.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 9.—President Wilson has signed the Federal Child Labor bill and organized labor records another advance in its fight against this evil. Under the new law it will be illegal to ship out of a State any product made in whole or in part by a factory employing children under 14 years of age, or the product of any mine or quarry which employs children under 16 years of age.

In signing the bill the President said: "I want to say with what real emotion I sign this bill, because I know how long the struggle has been to secure legislation of this sort and what it is going to mean to the health and to the vigor of the country, and to the happiness of those whom it affects. It is with genuine pride that I play my part in completing this legislation. I congratulate the country and felicitate myself."

The law will release from southern mills children who must now be provided with school facilities and whose parents must be paid a sufficient wage to keep them in comfort. Agitation for these conditions devolves upon the organized workers, as does the demand that 14-year-old children in any State are not equipped, either mentally or physically, for a factory life which weakens future generations.

QUEER TOBACCO LORE.

Every one knows that tobacco was one of the gifts of the New World to the Old, and that Sir Walter Raleigh made smoking fashionable in England in the days of Queen Elizabeth. For the next 50 years the smoking of pipes not only became general among all classes, but a thing of highest fashion, held in light of an art. In these days it was not said that a man smoked tobacco, but that he "drank" or "sucked" tobacco; and the smoker was called a "tobacconist."

A curious feature of tobacco manners among fashionable smokers of the Elizabethan period was the practice of passing the pipe from one to another, after the fashion of the loving cup. In a play of 1640, one London gallant says to another who is smoking: "Please you to import your smoker?" "Very willingly, sir," says the smoker. No. 2 takes a whiff or so and courteously says: "In good faith a pipe of excellent vapor!"

The rich young swell carried about him an elaborate tobacco apparatus, often of gold or silver. It included a tobacco box, tongs with which to lift a live coal to light his pipe, a ladle "for the cold

snuffle into 'nostrils'," a priming iron and as large a collection of pipes as his means could afford and his pockets could find room for. Sometimes the tobacco box was of ivory and occasionally a looking glass was set in the lid, so that when the beau opened it to take out tobacco he could also have a view of his delectable person.

RAILROADS STILL CRY "WOLF."

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15.—"Wolf, wolf," is the cry of railroads because Congress has passed the eight hour law for railroad employes engaged in interstate commerce.

"The railroads have cried 'wolf' for so long when anybody has tried to regulate them that they don't get much of a rise any more," said Congressman Adamson, author of the new law, and chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

No law, intended to protect life and limb, was ever passed by Congress, but the railroads cried "wolf." The same cry was heard when Congress created the present Interstate Commerce Commission.

POLICE SHALL JUDGE.

Officers of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor headed a delegation of trade unionists to protest to the city commissioners against the attitude of police in preventing pickets from walking the streets of that city.

President Quin, of the State branch, was the first speaker. Or, rather, he was scheduled as the first speaker. Commissioner of Safety Chasey objected to the unionist proceeding and the mayor sustained the objection. Secretary Hilfers then rose and stated it was the first time in his connection with Organized Labor that city officials refused to listen to a statement of facts concerning the welfare of the working people. Secretary Hilfers then prepared to state his case, but was invited to sit down.

The unionists insisted on their rights, but the commissioners assured them that "picketing has a tendency to create disorder," and if the police thought that was the case they would use their own judgment.—Ex.

DESERVES ALL IT CAN GET.

What does labor want? It wants the earth and the fullness thereof. There is nothing too precious, there is nothing too beautiful, too lofty, too ennobling, unless it is within the scope and comprehension of labor's aspirations and wants.

We want more schoolhouses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures, to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful and childhood more happy and bright.—Samuel Gompers.

Labor not only wants all it can get, but deserves all it can get—and "then some." We are compelled to fight for every inch gained—and we intend to continue the fight until the necessity for it has vanished.

There is no use splitting hairs in the argument—there's nothing too good for labor, and labor should strive always for the best.

DANBURY HATTERS LOSE AGAIN.

The United States Circuit Court of Appeals, with some modifications, has affirmed the decision of Judge E. S. Thomas, rendered in the Federal District Court of Connecticut, allowing to D. E. Loewe & Co., the Danbury hat manufacturers, $30,000, the interest accrued on the deposits of union hatters whose bank deposits were forfeited in the Danbury hatter boycott litigation. The action was brought by the Loewe company against the Danbury bank.

Judge Thomas in an opinion given in February last held that the accumulated interest on the deposits of the 180 union defendants in the Danbury case belonged to the hat company, which had obtained a judgment of $252,139 against the hatters and had attached their bank deposits. The Danbury bank appealed. The $30,-

000 is the interest that has accumulated on the deposits since they were attached thirteen years ago.

DUELS IN GREENLAND.

In Greenland when one man has been insulted by another the adversaries each compose a satire in verse. This each man recites to his household until the servants and the women know it by heart. Then a place of meeting is appointed. The two men, the insulter and insulted, the offender and the offended, stand face to face, and each recites his poem. His friends and servants form a chorus. Each man tries hard to raise the laugh against his adversary. Each man speaks in turn, whipping the enemy with epigram and quip, and after two hours of this wordy battle the meeting gives the victory to him of the two adversaries who has amused the whole assembly most.

JOIN THE UNION.

The following is taken from an appeal to non-union men recently issued by one of the building trade unions: "There is a good living for everybody engaged in our trade, employers and journeymen, but we must unite with our fellow workers to obtain it. Don't you think you are doing yourself, your wife and children an injustice by standing alone and working for smaller wages than you could otherwise obtain? Don't you love your children? Don't you want them to have the best you can possibly get for them? If so, don't you know that it is your duty to join the union?

Workers of all callings must learn that there are principles of human welfare which are of paramount importance. Conditions of daily work and living will not be in accord with these principles of human welfare unless those workers primarily concerned have some conception of their interests and are prepared for sustained efforts to realize their ideals.

It is a fact that where formerly almost every one was more or less opposed to labor unions, the general sentiment of the whole country is undergoing a change. Men who a few years ago were most bitter opponents of the unions are today advocating that the unions be given an opportunity to work out the true democracy for which they stand.

BURNS ROUNDED UP.

NEW YORK.—W. J. Burns, the "great" detective, has run afoul of the law.

A few years ago he was the darling of every anti-unionist because of lime-light methods which dimmed the glories of a well known citizen who owned a circus and once upon a time declared that "the people want to be fooled."

On this theory, W. J. Burns waxed wealthy and fat—and lost his cunning. planting dictagraphs in union headquarters seemed commonplace, so he raided the office of a well known firm of attorneys, and copied private correspondence. Now the "great" detective has been arrested because he failed to obey the law by first securing a search warrant.

Magistrate McAdoo declared that any one who insisted that no violation of law was committed in this case acknowledges "that the machinery of the law in this State is deficient in protecting the citizen in his fundamental constitutional rights."

HOW TO JUDGE TRAIN SPEED.

A fairly accurate computation of the speed of a moving train can be obtained by any keen-eared traveler with the aid of a watch equipped with a second hand. The wheels of a car produces a clicking in passing over the rail joints, the succession being divided into measures of as many beats as there are wheels on each side of the car. Furthermore, the traveler, due to his position, always hears one beat in each measure accented above the others. To determine the speed of the train, it is necessary only to count the accented beats for twenty seconds, the result being approximately the number of miles an hour of travel.—*Popular Science Monthly.*

THE MAN AND HIS SHOES.

Here is a jingle which almost every man in the shoe business who is over thirty years of age has seen "somewhere or other" but which you never can find in print when you want to show it to the youngsters. Clip it out now and paste it in your scrapbook:

How much a man is like his shoes;
For instance, both a sole may lose,
Both have been tanned,
Both are made tight,
By Cobblers—both get left and right.
Both need a mate
To be complete
And both are made to go on feet;
They both need healing;
Oft are soled,
And both in time are turned to mold.
With shoes the last is first,
With men the first shall be last,
And when the shoes wear out
They are mended new—
When men wear out they are "mendeard" too.
They both are trod upon and both
Will tread upon others nothing loth;
Both have their ties and both incline—
When polished—in the world to shine.
And both "peg out"—how would you choose?
To be a man or be his shoes?

—*The Shoeman.*

HARD TO MOVE IN RUSSIA.

An American wished to move from the principal hotel in Petrograd to a smaller hotel around the corner. He came down with his bag packed ready to go. "Sorry," said the manager, "but you cannot leave this hotel or register at another hotel until we get your passport from the police, and that will take a day and a night. You must go through exactly the same procedure as if you were leaving the country."

NO "SAME PLACE" THEN.

"Herbert," said a school teacher, turning to a bright youngster, "can you tell me what lightning is?" "Yes, ma'am," was the ready reply of the boy. "Lightning is streaks of electricity." "Well, that may pass," said the teacher, encouragingly. "Now tell me why it is that lightning never strikes twice in the same place." "Because," answered Herbert, "after it hits once the same place ain't there any more."

GALLIENI'S EPIGRAMS.

The late General Gallieni was a master of epigrammatic expressions. "Don't criticise until you can remedy," is one. "If you've got brains, use them; if not, plant cabbages," was another of the General's sayings. "Set things going, and keep them going," and "Say what you want done, but don't say more than a man can remember," were two other counsels.—*Westminster Gazette.*

THE PRESIDENT'S OATH.

The oath of office taken by the incoming President of the United States is the shortest and the simplest required of any ruler on earth. It is prescribed by the Constitution and is as follows:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and, to the best of my ability, protect, preserve and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Organization is the way whereby the toilers of all ages have found redress from wrongs and have secured greater opportunities.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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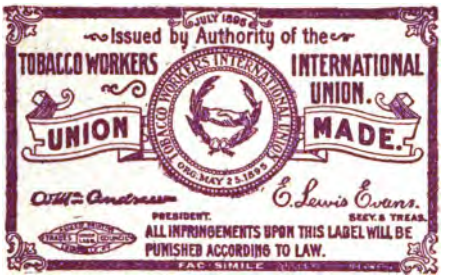
THE TOBACCO WORKER



OFFICIAL MAGAZINE

OF THE

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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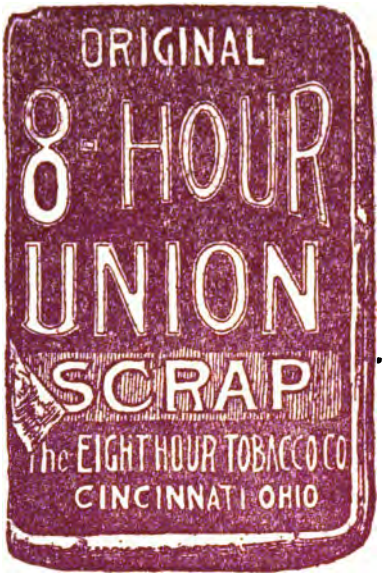
LOUISVILLE, KY.

JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY, LOUISVILLE, KY.



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THE

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647 West Hill Street *LOUISVILLE, KY.*

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UNION LABEL

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MERIT made it A SUCCESS

We make many other Brands

equally GOOD

Ask for Samples

STRONGHOLD

STRONG HOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

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JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

Little Blue Label

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

Highest Grade OLD VIRGINIA LEAF *and Purest* FRENCH RICE PAPER

MAKES

Ware's Pure Virginia Cigarettes

All Quality—Union Made

MANUFACTURED BY

F. D. Ware Tobacco Company

LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

UNION MADE

Tobacco, Snuff and Cigarettes

ALWAYS BEAR THE

BLUE LABEL

The Tobacco Worker.

Louisville, Ky.

Vol. 20 October, 1916 No. 10

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

THE THINKER.

Back of the beating hammer
By which the steel is wrought,
Back of the workshop's clamor
The seeker may find the Thought,
The thought that is ever Master
Of iron and steam and steel,
That rises above disaster
And tramples it under heel.

The drudge may fret and tinker
Or labor with lusty blows,
But back of him stands the Thinker,
The clear-eyed man who knows;
For into each plow or saber,
Each piece and part and whole,
Must go the brains of labor,
Which gives the work a soul.

Back of the motor's humming,
Back of the bells that sing,
Back of the hammer's drumming,
Back of the cranes that swing,
There is the Eye which scans them,
Watching through stress and strain,
There is the Mind which plans them—
Back of the brawn, the Brain.

Might of the roaring boiler,
Force of the engine's thrust,
Strength of the sweating toiler,
Greatly in these we trust;
But back of them stands the schemer,
The Thinker who drives things through,
Back of the job—the Dreamer
Who's making the dream come true.

—*American Machinist.*

CHILD LABOR LAW.

Secretary of Labor Replies to Statement Regarding Evasions of Act.

Secretary William B. Wilson, a member of the board of three cabinet members designated to draft regulations puting the new child labor law into effect, has issued a statement replying to assertions that the law easily could be evaded by holding products in storage for thirty days after their manufacture.

Those who attacked the law, he said, failed to distinguish between producing plants and warehouses, which might be located under the same roof and still be distinct, under the meaning of the provision barring from interstate commerce any product removed from a plant in which child labor had been employed within the thirty days previous.

He declared that any removal, therefore, of a commodity from the point where it was produced by child labor, even though it was stored a foot away for thirty days, or any other period, would make it forever inacceptable in interstate commerce.

EDUCATION NEEDED.

So long as any human being is inadequately fed, uncomfortably housed or unsanitarily surrounded, there will be work in the world for the labor movement and for all justice lovers.

The earth is big enough and rich enough and responsive enough to properly care orf all, and the only reason it does not do so is because greed takes what belongs to others and leaves the others in poverty and misery.

When justice shall have been done to all, then there will be need for labor unions, but we are far, very far, from that goal today, and must be alert and watchful lest we be driven backward instead of marching forward. Educate, agitate, organize, is the slogan.—*Ex.*

WHAT ORGANIZATION BRINGS

Miners Raise Wages.

Organized miners in the Thurber, Texas, section have raised wages 5 per cent. and secured a new contract.

Organize; Then Raise Wages.

Teamsters of Carlstadt, N. J., organized and after a short strike won recognition and raised wages from $1 to $3 a week.

Builders' Unions Recognized.

Contractors in Astoria, Ore., have signed an agreement with the unions of carpenters, painters, plumbers and electricians. The carpenters' rates will be $4 a day for eight hours and the scale of the other locals are recognized.

Farm Hands Form Union.

Farm workers of the Fowler, Ind., section have decided to form a hired hands' union. The leaders in the movement are demanding a minimum scale of 4 cents a bushel for husking corn.

Plumbers Win An Advance.

The Plumbers, Steam and Gasfitters' Union, of Trenton, N. J., secured the adoption of a new wage, giving them 62½ cents an hour, after negotiating with the bosses for a week. The new wage gives them $5 a day for eight hours. Nearly every employer in the city has agreed to the new conditions.

Pavers Make Gains.

Secretary Hannah, of the International Union of Pavers and Rammers, of New York, reports that wage increases averaging 50 cents a day have been secured in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Albany, Buffalo and Baltimore. Similar gains have been made by asphalt workers in San Francisco, St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago and New York.

50,000 Compensated.

Nearly 50,000 awards for compensation have been made in the nine months that the Pennsylvania State compensation law has been in existence. The total number of awards that became effective without contest on either side was 34,950, and the referees decided 1,300 additional cases. Only 117 appeals were made to the board from decisions of the referees, while the number of cases taken to the courts was an even dozen.

Printing Pressmen Advance.

After long negotiation Web Pressmen's Union has signed the following increased wage agreement with newspapers in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada:

Foremen, $30 a week; day journeymen, $22.50 for 48 hours; night journeymen, $27 for 42 hours; apprentice on fly starting, $9 a week, with an increase of $1 weekly every six months.

Raise Wages 40 Cents a Day.

Electrical Workers' Union, of Vancouver, British Columbia, has won its strike against the British Columbia Electric Company and raises wages from $4.10 to $4.50 a day.

Because of business depression, about a year ago, the men accepted a wage reduction from $4.35 to $4.10 a day. Recently they refused to renew this contract and suspended work. The settlement includes recognition of the union shop.

New Core Makers' Unions.

Business Agent Charles Markham, of the Molders' Union of St. Louis, Mo., after much work, has organized a strong Core Makers' Union, with a charter from the International Molders' Union, composing most of the men employed in the Granite City foundries.

International Organizer Charles Wilkerson, of the same union, has also formed new Core Makers' Unions in Independence, Mo., and Iola, Kan.

Carpenters Raise Wages.

Carpenters' Union, of Port Arthur, Tex., has successfully negotiated a new

wage agreement with employers. Wages are increased 10 cents an hour and an additional 2½ cents increase will be granted the first of the year. Eight hours will constitute a day's work.

Boiler makers and helpers employed at the refineries have raised wages from 10 to 25 cents per day as the result of conferences. The eight-hour day is agreed to.

Gain $1.50 Per Week.

Negotiations covering several weeks by Canton, Ohio, Typographical Union, have resulted in a substantial wage increase for all members of the union. All printers working under the jurisdiction of the union will receive $1.50 per week more than heretofore. Original demands called for a flat rate of $24.00 per week for all newspaper and job men. Under the new agreement, which took effect October 1 and continues for one year, newspaper men receive $22.50 per week and job men $21.50.

Rubber Workers Win.

Striking employes of the Textile Asbestos Company, of Reynolds, Pa., have won their demand for higher wages. Shop committees will be recognized and the schedule of rates will be posted in each department.

The strikers called upon the State Labor Department to investigate company methods. It was charged by the employes that the management was attempting to start trouble for the purpose of securing an injunction and the presence of the State police.

More Pay; Less Hours.

Agreements have been entered into between the representatives of four of the largest mattress making firms in Newark, N. J., and a committee from Mattress Makers' Union covering one year that greatly improve working conditions. Under the terms of the agreements the mattress makers will benefit by an average increase of 25 per cent. in pay and a reduction of hours from fifty-seven to fifty-one a week.

Their Appeal Rejected.

The Employers' Association of the State of Washington appealed to the Grangers' Telephone Company for a contribution to aid it in an anti-union campaign which it calls the non-union shop. In reply Manager Sparling of the company wrote:

"To start with, we don't care what your expenses are, and we trust that they are so large that it breaks the association, and we refuse to give one cent to such a movement. We do not believe in the non-union shop; we believe in unions and high wages to working men."

Will Get 50 Cents Advance.

The Building Material Teamsters' Union, of San Francisco, Cal., has been successful in negotiating a wage scale and working agreement with the Teaming and Auto Truck Association, which provides for the union shop and an increase of fifty cents per day in wages on and after January 1, 1917, with existing wages and conditions to maintain until that date. The agreement will remain in effect until May 1, 1918.

Under the terms of the new agreement members of the Teaming and Auto Truck Association promise to employ only members of the Building Material Teamsters' Union at the wages and under the conditions specified in the agreement. At present the members of the union are receiving $3 per day, but on and after January 1, 1917, and until May 1, 1918, the wages will be increased to $3.50 per day.

New Compensation Award.

Dependents of working men killed by lightning in the course of their employment are entitled to compensation in the State of Pennsylvania. The decision is made in the case of the widow of a former employe of the Carnegie Steel Company. The board ruled that the only question to decide under the law is "whether or not the employe at the time of his injury was in the employ of his master." The company is ordered to pay his widow $805 for a period of 300 weeks at end of which time $2.69 a week must be paid a son until he becomes 16 years of age.

Danbury Hatters' Test Case.

Payment of $20,000 interest on the $252,000 judgment secured in the "Danbury hatters" case against members of the United Hatters' Union for boycotting the firm of D. E. Loewe & Co. in 1903, is contested in a test case appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States by the Savings Bank of Danbury, Conn. This institutions holds savings of the union members attached to satisfy the judgment. The lower Federal Court held that the Loewe Company was entitled to the interest.

The Supreme Court is now in session. It is not known whether the case will be passed on at an early date or not.

Gains Made at DuBois, Pa.

As a result of the agitation during the strike at the Textile Asbestos Company, an A. F. of L. representative organized the domestic workers and increased wages 20 per cent. A federal union of shop and street laborers was also organized. As a result the shop men received an increase of 11½ per cent. and the street workers raised wages from $1.85 to $2.25 a day. The shop workers decreased working hours from 10 to 9 and the street cleaners reduced hours from 10 to 8.

Bartenders have also organized and a new Federal Labor Union at Falls Creek, near here, has been established.

Eight Hours in Shipyard.

An eight-hour day for employes of the Northwest Steel Company, Portland, Ore.'s, shipbuilding plant, was announced today by J. R. Bowles, President of the concern. The eight-hour day carries with it no cut in pay, the men receiving the same wages they now get for nine hours. The change goes into effect on October 16.

The plant employs 650 men at present, and in six weeks will have 1,500 men at work.

"I want to say the steel industry is not the only one in which this change is to enter. With our manufacturing plants upon an even basis with foreign industries as they are now I look for every branch of labor soon to adopt it."

LIMIT INJUNCTIONS AND REFORM JUDGES.

The fight of the trade union movement to remedy the abuse of the writ of injunction is part of the larger fight to which they are contributing—the humanization of the courts of justice and the proper co-ordination of courts with other governmental agencies.

The courts of our country have sought to control the whole government. Not a few who have examined our national institutions carefully and impartially have declared that the United States Supreme Court is an institution without parallel in any country and dominates the whole government. That was not the purpose of those who instituted our republican government, but it has been the result of a development in which judges have carefully built up their power and now jealously defend that power against all who would dispute it.

Courts have no divine right of existence nor any divine right to exercise a specific function. Whatever power courts may have is power that has been delegated to them by the people. The way the people express their desire as to what shall be standards and rules of government is through constitution and legislation enacted by their representatives and occasionally declared by themselves.

This demonstrates a well-known governmental phenomenon — every governmental agency always seeks to extend its authority and scope of action, and when it has made any extension, even an extension by usurpation, it defends that extended function as a right.

Time and time again has it been necessary to struggle against tyranny and despotism on the part of agents of justice and to bring about reforms in the judiciary. Such a struggle was made back in England in the time of the Stuarts, and further back in the time of King Alfred, who attempted to reform the judiciary. It is recorded that judges in his day who would not conform to the regulations and the new concepts estab-

lished for their guidance were "duly punished for their lack of understanding." The judges of the present day will have to conform with new concepts of human freedom or they, too, will have to learn their lesson.

Unremitting and vicious are the attempts of employers to defeat the efforts of wage-earners and to disrupt the organized labor movement. They have tried, through injunctions, to keep the workers powerless, forbidding them to do anything that might give them greater freedom or better conditions of life and work.

No more flagrant abuses of injunctions have existed than in Detroit, where injunctions have been issued against striking patternmakers and cigarmakers. The courts have attempted to forbid the patternmakers even to visit the homes of strike-breakers. They have arrested and punished men because they walked past the place of business of former employers. They have threatened girls of fourteen and sixteen with fines or imprisonment if they so much as discussed the strike with fellow-workers. So overbearing and unreasonable has been the attitude of the courts that they evidently think workers belong to a lower class of animals to whom the right of free speech and free assembly do not apply.

Particularly since the enactment of the provisions of the Clayton law have the State courts extended this abuse of the writ of injunction that has developed and is one of the most serious things with which workers must contend. It is a problem that requires legislative relief and the enactment of State laws clearly establishing the rights of workers, defining the use of the writ of injunction and specifically regulating its application. Judges themselves will never reform this abuse.—*President Gompers, in American Federationist.*

THE UNION MAN.

Who is he? How can you recognize him? What are his distinguishing traits?

He carries a paid-up card as evidence of his membership in the union of his trade or industry. That is a means of identification.

The fellow who never contributes anything to the cause of unionism, yet insists that he is just as good a union man as those who do, is a fraud. He is a moocher, a panhandler, with all the vices that belong to his trade. He always has plenty of excuses; we all know him.

A real union man attends the meetings of his organization whenever possible. He knows that the union is a business institution to aid the worker in maintaining and improving conditions. He does not expect a business to run itself. He gives his time, his thought and his money to the cause. The cause of unionism does not suffer reproach because of his conduct.

He studies the history of the labor movement in order that the present may avoid the mistakes of the past and also to be able to point out the contributions of the labor movement to the cause of human freedom. He keeps up with the chief events of the day, social and industrial movements, the trend of legislation and judicial decisions, so that he may be able to intelligently aid whatever is helpful to Labor's cause and oppose that which is injurious.

He exhausts peaceful methods of redressing grievances before advocating or resorting to a strike, realizing that whatever contributes to the establishment of amicable relations between the employer and employe promotes the well-being of labor; that an unnecessary strike, whether lost or won, injures labor's cause.

When a strike is on he lends his fullest support to it. He claims the enjoyment of his rights as a citizen. He places the facts before the people as a brief for the strikers' cause. Outside the strike zone he is active in their behalf and pays his quota as an investment for improved conditions.

The union man is a thinking worker putting in practice the gospel of brotherhood.—*Guy E. Miller, in Alameda Co. (Cal.) Workman.*

Don't forget the union label during the coming year. It is to your interest to be on the watch. You can depend upon no one so well as upon yourself.

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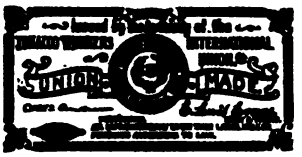


is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

TOBACCO WORKERS IN THE TRUST SHOPS ORGANIZING.

The high cost of living has had its effect with the Tobacco Workers employed in a number of the trust branches in New York, Brooklyn and Jersey City. The pressure had been felt for some months and the employes bore it as long as they could. The question finally culminated in a strike in eight factories, with everything shut down tight in all three cities. President McAndrew went to the scene of the trouble and held a number of meetings with the unorganized Tobacco Workers, and as a result three Local Unions have been organized. With organization established, the cause of the trouble was taken up. President McAndrew, with the committee appointed, had interviews with the various managements, and succeeded in getting a substantial increase in wages and a reduction of hours from 60 to 51 per week, with an understanding that when conditions arise in the factories, which give cause for complaint, such complaints will be made as subjects of conferences, looking to adjustment between the management and the committees appointed to take care of such occurrences.

The high cost of living, and the rigid anti-union attitude of the trust management, has, for some time, caused more or less discontent among all the factories operated by the four branches of the tobacco trust. The desire for freedom of action, and the right to organize for their own protection, has been climbing up and up. This feeling is applicable to the East and West more particularly. Those of the South, while possessing the same feeling, have not as yet made it so much of an issue.

Much misconception has been the rule as to organization in the trust shops. The hope has been eternal in the breasts of the Tobacco Workers in the trust shops for organization, and has only been kept in subjection by a line of objection drawn across the border between non-organization and organization, and this born of fear from many causes. However, the pressure has gotten so great at some points that the border line was broken and organization has been effected.

The first burst was in the Liggett & Myers' branch, in Toledo, Ohio; the next in the Lorrilard branch in Middletown, Ohio; the next was in the American Snuff Company, in Memphis, Tenn.; the next in New York, Brooklyn and New Jersey. In all these places unions have been formed.

The pressure for relief through the protection given by organization will yet burst out in other places. Where next, is an open question. The rumblings are being felt, and a response to the desire will manifest itself in a most unexpected place.

The Trade Union is the natural and

logical place for all those who toil and earn their bread by the sweat of their faces, and those employed in the trust tobacco factories should be no exception to the rule.

A full realization that organization under the banner of their own trade International Union is coming, and the sooner it reaches the fullness of time, the better it will be for those whose best interests are at stake.

The milk producing farmers, supplying milk for the New York market, have organized and forced the New York City Milk Trust to come to terms. Another notch in the Union stick of progressive accomplishment. Farmers, push it along. You will find it good.

The railroad employes on the Panama Railroad are now working under the Eight-hour Day. This has come about by Executive order. The government is evidently leading the way, basing its action on the passage of the Eight-hour law. The example is good. Who will be the first to follow the government lead?

Secretary of Commerce Redfield makes the statement that the cost of living has increased 35 per cent. during the past year, due perhaps to a thousand different causes. It not only obtains in the United States, but the world over. How many of us can say that our wages have been increased 35 per cent.? There is much food for thought in this for the unthinking.

The stop-watch system is dying a hard death, but to the benefit of health and well being of labor, both organized and unorganized.

Let us hope that no reviving serum will be injected for further scientific tests. The thing has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Let it pass into antiquity as a relic of indecency.

The railroads in their protesting against the Eight-hour Day, stating that it would ruin them, are doing so in bad grace and without good cause, when the Interstate Commerce Commission reports that the railroads' net operating income has increased over forty-five per cent. and the Eight-hour Day would not increase the operating expenses one quarter of that amount. The plea of poverty is not tenable in this case.

The slogan, "Now for the Three Million Mark," that has been made a part of the organizing campaign during the last year has not been in vain. The full realization of the object may not have been attained, but the effort has been well worth while. An awakening of the workers for organization has been such that many who have been indifferent to the benefits of organization heretofore, have seen the light and the force for good. The anti-organization arguments on the part of the employers do not carry the weight with the workers as they formerly did. Necessity has brought their think-box gearing into action, and when motion is once started, it has been found that result was more than was at first expected.

Organization has been planted in industries, and parts of industries, that it was thought almost impossible, which has given great encouragement. The net results are good, and warrants our further effort.

According to reports on the strike in Shonts & Company lines in New York, it is not all velvet with Mr. Shonts. There seems to be promise that an aftermath of the first rush of things will be worse in its effect on the purse strings of the owners of the lines and will be very costly, and it is an open question as to whether the pressure of the storm can be weathered by Mr. Shonts. He is playing a stiff game, but the winning cards are not all in his hands. Some trumps are against him. He would like to see them laid on the table and covered from his hand. The loss of revenue is playing havoc with the Company's game. It may not be known what the staking of the game has cost the stockholders, but if the figures are ever open to public in-

spection, the effect will be staggering. The strikebreakers have their fun during the time, and get well paid for the desperate game they play. In addition to that, there is a shortage in the receipts of the day on the cars that are running with the Bobbies on the front end, that will have no explanation offered for the part that is not rung up on the register. The stockholders have pinned their faith on Shonts, and they will have to dance to the tune he fiddles. Public sentiment is not all with the Transit Company. It is in a very irritated state of mind on account of the inconvenience it is put to, but in back recesses of its gray matter there is a hope that the men will win, though they take no active part in favor of one side or the other. If the men can hold out a while longer, Mr. Shonts and Company will consider a new ways and means that will be profitable to the men and the stockholders. Certain elements of the citizens have been making pertinent inquiries into some phases of the attitude of the Company, and the position and conditions of the men, that will have a digging effect, and may bring about a revolution of feeling in some very influential quarters which Mr. Shonts hoped to keep under the lid and holding his coat until he licked the crowd.

The Textile Workers of the South are waking up to the fact that they have been cruelly exploited to the benefit of the greedy employers. In the hope of securing a remedy, they are turning, like the workers in the rest of the world, to organization for protection from the crushing tyranny. This protective feature on the part of the employes was a complete surprise to the employers, which later turned to anger. The very idea of my employes organizing and telling me I must give them more pay. It is preposterous and out of the question. The mental attitude, of the old feudal times of the dark ages, toward an employe, is still in the minds of some of the employers of the South, especially in the textile industry, for one who has to work to even hold up his head in a spirit that suggests independence, or liberty of action, is a movement that goads the old Southern employer to desperation. He should be the one to make the advances, and not a poor worker, and if for reasons, best known to himself, he should forget that the workers' cost of living has gone up so that real living is out of the question, his dark-age mental limit becomes exasperated at the presumption of his employes, in adopting any measure that will protect them from the employer's mediæval policy and method of treating those who produce their accumulations of wealth.

An exemplification of this ancient attitude is now being staged at Anderson, S. C., in two textile mills. The Textile Workers in these mills, after being crushed between the upper and nether stones until they were reduced to a fabric as thin as some of the products of the looms at which they toiled and without a hopeful outcome to their requests for a larger share from their production, organized and eliminated the individual, substituting the force of the many in their demands. The demands made through the local union for an increase were most indignantly refused. A strike resulted. The State Board of Arbitration made an effort to get a settlement for the workers, but to no purpose. The employers acknowledged that they were enjoying the prosperity of the times, but the question of their being able to give an increase was not the question at issue; it was that a request had been made through one of those horrible unions, an organization of the workers, which their employes had dared to form. They could starve, as they would not give even a cent increase when it was made by a union of their employes. As a consequence the mills are shut down tight and the employes are taking a rest. The attitude of the employers has thrown public opinion on the side of the workers, who are evidently living in the twentieth century and not in the sixteenth.

The last Congress has been the scene of much legislative reform, which is only a culmination of many years' agitation

and work on the part of the tradeunionists. The reforms secured were badly needed, and we are more than thankful for them. But there are others yet to come, and the need of them is just as urgent as some already acquired. We must, however, not relax our vigilance. We must be ever on the watch and press onward for new remedial reforms, and to keep up a constant agitation for the passage of the measures now on the waiting list for further consideration.

We must also fortify ourselves against a not improbable reaction during the next session of Congress.

Some of the legislation passed at the last session has many opponents, and efforts will be made to defeat the ends sought, or to extend and amend some measures so that they will become of such a restrictive character that an abridgement of rights and liberties may ensue. There is no doubt that a supreme effort will be made by our opponents to force through Congress some measure or measures having for its object a restriction of the rights of the workers to leave their employment when in their judgment it is necessary for the improvement of their working conditions. This is a right we must not under any circumstances surrender, or have taken away from us by a reactionary movement. There is another equally obnoxious piece of legislation that certain of our opponents are going to make a strong fight for, and that is Compulsory Arbitration of disputes between employer and employe. This must never obtain in the United States. It has been tried in other countries and Labor is paying dearly for it now. In certain industries in Canada this law applies, and for upward of ten years it has been tried out, and in each case the workers have gotten the worst of it, and the Trade Unions are using their best effort to have the law repealed. In Australia and New Zealand, laws carrying the same principles are in effect, and Labor is restricted in consequence in their liberty of action to their great detriment. A supreme effort is being made to repeal these measures, because of the disastrous effect to Labor's interests in those countries.

We have had a taste of this involuntary servitude legislation out in Colorado, and what has been the effect? We all know that it has been most injurious to the interests of Labor. The workers are suffering under it now, and have been ever since the first offense against the law.

We must retain the right to leave our employment when it is not satisfactory to us, and not allow a law to be passed which will compel us to work for an employer with whom we are at variance and wait until the capitalistically-owned government red tape is unwound and a measure of equity taken from it. We want a law in force that gives us the right to quit work when it does not suit us, at least, such as we now have. We must never, never sunder a God-given right to a choice of employment when our best interests are at stake. Vigilance is the price of liberty. That the next Congress will have restrictive measures brought before it, nobody doubts. Be alert.

FROM COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

By George P. West.

Washington.—While Edward B. McLean and his "$100,000,000 baby" continue to supply Washington and its tourists with gossip, the striking fluor-spar miners who helped produce McLean's wealth at Rosiclare, in Southern Illinois, are waging a desperate battle with starvation and gun men.

Aided by the Sheriff of Hardin County, armed guards in the employ of the McLean and one other mining company have instituted a reign of terror for the striking miners, their families and all who sympathize with them.

It was not enough to order strikers and their families out of town under threat of violence. Emboldened by the support of the Sheriff, the company deputies have even deported the Mayor of the city, the City Marshal, and members of the City Council.

A full statement of occurrences at Rosiclare has been sent to the Committee on Industrial Relations by William J.

Sneed, Jr., International Organizer for the United Mine Workers of America, a citizen of Illinois. It follows:

"On July 19, Colonel Shand, Assistant Adjutant General of Illinois, came to Rosiclare as the personal representative of Governor Dunne to investigate the appeal for the militia made by the company. He found that there were about twenty deputies sworn in by the Sheriff, but being paid by the mining companies to guard and intimidate strikers. He refused the companies the militia, ordered the Sheriff to depose the gunmen, and instructed the Mayor to swear in, with the approval of the City Council, enough special police to protect the citizens of Rosiclare from violence and intimidation. Instead of guarding company property, the guards were loafing around town intimidating strikers.

"The Mayor and City Council did as commanded, but the Sheriff and company did not discharge the deputies. Colonel Shand returned to Springfield, thinking the Sheriff and the company would obey the law. But after a night or two it became an every night affair for striking miners' homes to be shot into.

"In a few days business men in sympathy with the companies demanded of the Mayor that he reomve the special police, as it was costing the city government too much. The Mayor complied. Immediately the guards and gunmen began bulldozing strikers and their families, until a clash occurred between the strikers and so-called deputies, resulting in one gunman and one striker being seriously wounded. The company has previously armed thugs and gunmen with riot guns and automobiles. They started a riot and tried to shoot up the doctor's office where an injured striker was being attended. About twenty gunmen came across the river from Starrsville, Kentucky, with false faces on, and along with thugs on the Illinois side, began ordering the strikers and sympathizers to leave town on penalty of death, crying they would lynch the Mayor or shoot him if they could find him.

"About 100 men with their families, wives and children, walked or went up the river in boats to Elizabethtown, the county seat. They were told that there would be 200 night riders over from Kentucky to wipe the union men off the map. An old lady, 73 years old, was preparing supper when she was told she had fifteen minutes to leave town. She begged to be allowed to eat supper and was told she had better not let the sun go down on her head if she wanted to live. So she went. Gunmen went into the house of the Mayor and scattered powder on the floor, ripped up the carpet and ransacked everything in every room. They went into another house, cut up the pillows and bed clothes and scattered them all over the house.

"One of the strikers had a sick child. He was told to get out as soon as possible. Later the child, through the excitement of moving, died, and had to be buried by union sympathizers. The coffin, shroud and all cost $12. Many strikers left their household goods. This was all done under the Sheriff. The City Marshal was told to resign and leave town; that if he didn't take the star off, they would shoot it off. The Mayor was told the same thing, as well as the City Aldermen. They left town.

"G. J. Frick and A. T. Pace, of the United Mine Workers, tried to get off a boat at Rosiclare on August 8. They were not permitted to land and were threatened with violence.

"On August 31, William J. Sneed, Jr., International Organizer for the United Mine Workers, went to Rosiclare, after asking and receiving permission of the Sheriff. He missed the boat down the river and went to the house of a friend to spend the night. At 8:00 o'clock two deputies came and told him to get into an automobile. They escorted him out of the town.

"Only a few strikers have returned to work. The strikers sent a wagon out to ask the farmers for food, for the strikers and their families. Ten gunmen followed them and told the farmers it would not be healthy for them if they contributed to the relief of the striking miners.

"The city of Rosiclare is in the hands of the gunmen. No one can go there without being intimidated and asked his

business, and how long he is going to stay, . . ."

Contributions for the striking miners will reach them if sent to John H. Walker, President of the State Federation of Labor, Springfield, Ill.

SOME JOYFUL NEWS.

One of the first printed references to the petroleum industry of the Pacific coast has been submitted to the Standard Oil Company of California by Edwin C. Bell, of Titusville, Pa. It was first printed in 1569 and known as "De Las Drojas De Las Indias." It was translated and printed in English in 1596 under the name of "Joyfullnewes Out of the NewFound World." Following is an excerpt from the "Joyfullnewes:"

"Of a gumme that is taken out from under the grounds. In the Collao being a country of Peru, there is a Province which doth not beare any tree or Plante, because the ground is full of Gummes, and from this ground the Indians take out a Licour, that serueth them to heale many diseases, and to take it out they use it in this manner.

"They make of the Earthe certeyne Sesternes very greate, and set them upon timber, or Canes, and underneath they put a thing, that may receive the Licour, which cometh out of them, and they place them in the Sunne, and with the heate and strength thereof, the Gumme is melted or the licour which the earth hath, and the Sesternes remain without any liquor, which profiteth to make fire of, for in that place there are no Trees, nor anye other thing to make fire of; and it is an euill light, for it casteth out black Smoke, and an horrible smell, and for all this, seeing they have another thing to make fire of, they take a paynes with it.

"The Licour which commeth foorth of it, profiteth for many diseases, and especially when they depende of a colde, or colde causes. It taketh away anye griefe of the sayde cause, and all swellings which come thereof: they heale with it woundes, and all euilles which the Carana, and the Tacambaca doo heale. That whiche they sent me, is of a red colour, somewhat dark, and it hath a good smell.—*Wall-street Journal.*

BURDENS BORNE BY LABOR.

Labor bears the burden of creating wealth by work and it bears the burden of creating dearth by idleness.

When labor has the chance of filling the land with that fleeting thing called prosperity it toils day and night.

How gladly it then bears the burden of long hours, of over-time and of heavy toil.

And the burden of toil seems heavy in the hour of prosperity, but of all the burdens labor bears none is quite so terrifying or so ruinous as the burden of idleness.

In prosperity, factories run over-time and the work of the day is carried into the night to fill the rush of orders.

And then suddenly the mills, mines and factories close, the market is glutted, orders cease; for labor has produced more products than men can sell.

Then the tools are no longer worked and idle men and idle machines stand helpless, useless, unproductive face to face.

And at such times millions of wage workers are unemployed and then the workers cry out in agony for wages, or food, for clothing and shelter.

"A man willing to work," said Carlyle, "and unable to find work is perhaps the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun.

"There is no horse willing to work but can get food and shelter; but not so this two-footed worker who has to seek and solicit occasionally in vain."

And as labor cannot live except when wages are earned, idleness means want and dread, uncertainty and hungry babies and anxious wives.

And do you know that in this great and prosperous country of ours as many as five million wage workers are sometimes unemployed?

Even in one year of prosperity, so the census tells us, over two million men were unemployed from two to four months in the year.

And the statistics of one State inform

us that sometimes one out of every three workers beg for a chance to work and beg in vain.

And this burden that labor bears is the strangest thing in all this world.

That strong, brawny men, capable of producing more wealth than they themselves receive should be denied the opportunity to produce that wealth!

Was ever there anything before in the world like this?

That shoeless bakers capable of producing bread should stand helplessly idle before hungry shoemakers capable of producing shoes!

That breadless sweatshop workers capable of producing clothes should stand idle and helpless before their ragged comrades capable of producing food!

I ask you was there ever anything before in the world like this?

Yet there is no means known to this human society of ours whereby these workers can labor to feed and clothe each other.

They must stand and wait. They know not how long, but long enough until the industrial machine begins to work again.

They are cogs in that machine, able to work only when the machine works, forced into idleness, impoverishing idleness, when the machine ceases work.

For in this day of ours these men have no fields or homes or tools of their own.

They are dependents, the subjects of a system which asks them not when it will work or when it will not work.

And so we see that labor bears not only the burden of creating wealth by work; it bears also that more distressing burden of creating dearth by idleness.—*Robert Hunter.*

APPLIES TO CHILD.

Judge McMichael, of Philadelphia, has ruled that the State Workmen's Compensation Law must be interpreted broadly and that compensation must be paid to children whose fathers are killed in industrial accidents.

The case centered about a four-months-old babe whose father was killed six days before it was born. A workmen's compensation referee awarded benefits to the mother and to the child until it reaches the age of sixteen. Appeal was taken to the Compensation Board, which sustained the referee. The matter was then taken to the courts.

It was argued that when there is a widow or widower entitled to compensation, no award can be made to the children. In dismissing this argument, Judge McMichael said:

"An act of assembly of the character of the one in question should be interpreted broadly and in harmony with the aim of the act of providing support for those dependent upon a deceased employe.

"Since dependents bound by the compensation feature of the law lose all their remedies at common law, a literal construction in their favor is required. In the case at bar the child takes nothing during the running of three hundred weeks if its mother lives that long and does not marry. Can it be said that it was intended that the child thus should be excluded from the benefits of the act?

"We think the provision for the mother negatives that inquiry, because the payment made to her was based on the fact of the existence of the child. The child's right to compensation can not be said in this way to be obliterated. It becomes merged with that of the mother, and rightly so, because she is usually the person to whom ultimately compensation due a child would naturally go."

It is stated that the decision will affect over one thousand children and that over $2,000,000 is involved.

DON'T STRIKE FOR FUN.

"Men don't usually go out on strike for the novelty of it," said Rev. F. K. Brown, of Worcester, Mass.

"And when you find several thousand sincere, serious-minded men quitting their jobs in a peaceful, thoughtful manner, there must be something very wrong to influence these men to go out in this way. If there is something wrong—and we must concede that there is, otherwise the men would have remained at work—

it is an infernal condition that prompts manufacturers to ignore the voices of those raised in protest. I can not conceive what men are coming to when a condition like this prevails in Worcester. It is a city of fossils; of men so impregnated with their own stubborn ideas that there isn't room for the finer methods of dealing with men. According to the way of the high-headed, high-handed Worcester employer, men must be treated a good deal like beasts of burden; the owner shall decide what the load shall be and how much of it the beast shall carry."

HOW WE ARE PROTECTED.

Air Saves Us From the Celestial Bullets.

Is it not strange that we never hear of an accident from ordinary meteors, though accidents from aerolites have not been altogether unknown?

Here is this great vessel, the earth, sailing through space, and saluted every twenty-four hours by 400,000,000 of missiles, each flying toward her with many times the velocity of the swiftest cannon ball. This, comments Proctor in "Expanse of Heaven," goes on day by day and night by night, when living creatures are far from shelter, as well as when they are protected in their various abodes; and yet the inhabitants of the earth are perfectly safe from all danger. If one in a thousand struck a human being the inhabitants of the earth would be almost decimated in a single year.

It is not merely that they have been so far fortunate as to escape hitherto, but that they really are as safe as though the earth were protected by armor plates.

The real protection of the earth is the air which surrounds her. Soft as the air is, the resistance it opposes to swift motion is very great. The swifter the motion the more effective is the resistance. In the case of the meteoric missiles falling on the earth the resistance is so great, owing to their enormous velocity, that they are consumed and presently vaporized in their rush through the upper parts of the air.

Thus the air forms a perfect protection to our earth.

OPPORTUNITY.

They do me wrong who say I come no more,
When once I knock and fail to find you in;
For every day I stand outside your door
And bid you wake and rise to fight and win.

Wail not for precious chances passed away,
Weep not for golden ages on the wane,
Each night I burn the records of the day,
At sunrise every soul is born again.

Laugh like a boy at splendors that have fled,
To vanished joys be blind and deaf and dumb.
My judgments seal the dead past with the dead
But never bind a moment yet to come.

Though deep in mire, wring not your hands and weep,
I lend my arm to all who say "I can."
No shame-faced outcast ever sank so deep
But yet might rise and be again a man.

Art thou a mourner? Rouse thee from the spell.
Art thou a sinner? Sins may be forgiven.
Each morning gives thee wings to fly from hell,
Each night a star to guide thy feet to Heaven. —*Walter Malone.*

Net earnings of the United Cigar Stores Company for the first eight months of the calendar year, which corresponds with the company's fiscal year, increased more than 50 per cent. over the same period a year ago.

An explosion had occurred on a battleship. Captain (making investigation)—How in the world did it happen?

Jack—Well, you see, sir, Tom Stewart went into the magazine and lit a match.

Captain—Lit a match! I should have thought that was the last thing on earth he would do.

A PERFECT DAY.

When you come to the end of a perfect day,
And you sit alone with your thought
While the chimes ring out with a carol gay,
For the joy that the day has brought.
Do you think what the end of a perfect day
Can mean to a tired heart,
When the sun goes down with a flaming ray,
And the dear friends have to part?

Well, this is the end of a perfect day,
Near the end of a journey, too;
But it leaves a thought that is big and strong,
With a wish that is kind and true;
For mem'ry has painted this perfect day
With colors that never fade,
And we find, at the end of a perfect day,
The soul of a friend we've made.

—*Carrie Jacobs Bond.*

LOVE'S GIFT.

You are my star of hope, for every morn,
The inspiration of each impulse, born
For good intent.

The cheery song that makes each day so bright,
The low sweet lullaby that comes with night
When day is spent.

To soothe and comfort, after trials are o'er,
You are the one sweet woman I adore—
The gift Love sent.

—*Eva L. Crawford.*

839 South Fifth, Louisville, Ky.

When the union label is on an article you are assured it did not come from a penitentiary. If the label is not on it you can not tell where it came from or what conditions it was made under. Manufacturers' trade-marks do not indicate anything, because many manufacturers put their trade-marks on goods produced by convicts amidst filth and disease. Demand the union label and see that you get it.

When you demand the union label on your purchases you not only notify employers that it pays to run a union shop, but you also increase the demand for union labor and thus strengthen your own position. This ought to influence members of unions to be persistent in their demand for the label.

The union label is one of the most potent of peace potions in the industrial world, and every person who believes in peace and progress should demand its presence on every article purchased. To preach peace while neglecting the union label is to play the role of a hypocrite.—*Chronicle.*

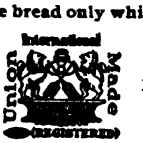
Are you a real union man, or do you simply pay dues to your union in order to enjoy the benefits of better wages and conditions? If you are a real union man you will attend union meetings regularly and insist on the union label on your purchases. In other words, you will employ union labor instead of scab labor.

A God-fearing mother can put a whole lot of prayer behind her slipper when she fans the seat of little Willie's trousers.

If you want the union shop boom the label.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS  LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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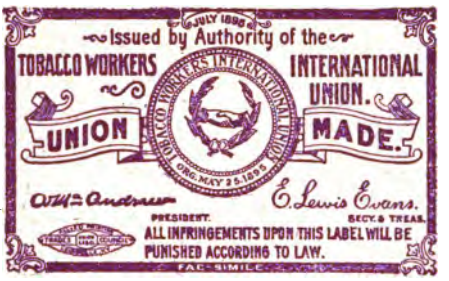
VOL. 20 NOVEMBER, 1916 No. 11

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

THE TOBACCO WORKER



OFFICIAL MAGAZINE

OF THE

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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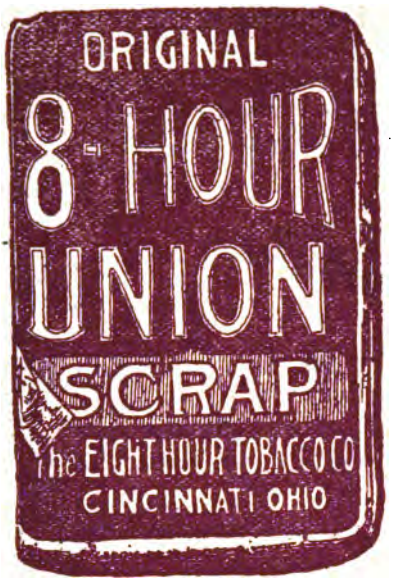

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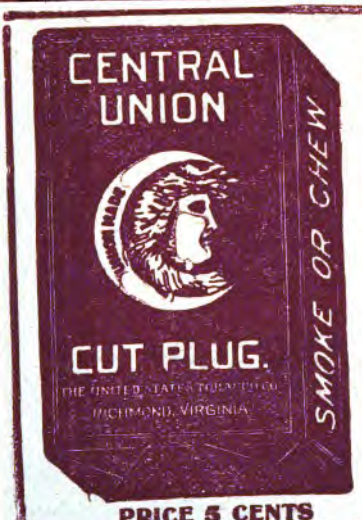

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The Tobacco Worker.

Louisville, Ky.

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The Tobacco Worker.

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THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

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The Tobacco Worker.

SO EASY.

So easy to say what another would do,
So easy to settle his cares,
So easy to tell what road to pursue,
And dispose of the burden he bears.
It is easy to bid him be brave and strong,
And to make all his shortcomings known;
But, oh, it's so hard when the care and the wrong
And the dangers we face are our own.

It is easy to stand in another man's place
When our comforts of life are assured,
And the sting of the rain beating sharp in our face
By him must be bravely endured.
It is easy to tell him the path he must take
And to bid him to laugh at his care,
But, oh, it's so hard when it's our hearts that ache
And we have the burdens to bear.

We all know the things that another should do,
His faults are like books on our shelves,
We can ponder them over and read and review,
But we haven't a book on ourselves.
We can settle the other man's troubles each day,
His griefs we can calmly discuss,
It is easy to sweep all his troubles away,
But we can't do the same thing for us.
The need of another it's easy to see,
When our own wants are all satisfied,
And bold and courageous it's easy to be
When it isn't our souls that are tried.
But, oh, it's so hard when we're stumbling along
To keep ourselves steadfast and true;
It is easy to tell some one else to be strong,
It's easier to talk than to do.

—*Edgar A. Guest.*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM.

There is no better established fact of history than that the toilers of the world have received justice at the hands of wealth only to such extent as they have been able to demand it. That there may have been isolated instances where this was not true only goes to prove the general rule—the well-known fact.

It has been said by some one who enjoyed turning a pretty phrase rather than adhering strictly to the truth, that, "In our grandsire's day the rich man helped the poor, the poor man loved the great."

You can't prove that by history. From of old, the wealthy and the powerful, in general, have gotten every ounce of work out of the laborer that they could. And at the lowest possible price. Every one knows this is true. The mournful pages of slavery and oppression in the annals of the human race are too many and too dark.

For thousands of years the workers were driven forth to till, like cattle under a driver's whip, or forced to accept such miserable pittances as wealth saw fit to bestow upon them. The few enjoyed ease, leisure, lavish luxury. They builded their mansions, preserved their game, and passed their useless lives surrounded by barbaric splendor. But for the working millions there was no rest, no education, no comfort, no hope. They

stumbled blindly through a toilsome, weary life, which ended in an unmarked grave. And their children, and their children's children inherited the same sad fate.

All this we know is true; and it isn't the one-hundredth part of the long, sickening story. And the reason that conditions are better today is that the workers at last learned the power of organization—discovered after all the dark and helpless centuries that in union lies strength. And, by the way, capital has also learned that truth, hence the gigantic aggregations of wealth that are proving themselves well-nigh too big for the government to control.

Luckily, labor at last began to organize. Immediately conditions commenced to improve. And conditions will continue to improve as the workers get together more closely. The individual alone is helpless, but collectively men can be the makers of their destinies. The salvation of the worker lies in unionism.

Through unionizing industry, the toiler can withstand that terrible economic pressure which is gradually crushing the best energies out of him,

And once the workers are fully unionized, they will be able to hold back the forces of greed and power until a wider knowledge of political economy permeates our people.

Once that wider intelligence gets rooted, the "big push" against the trenches of monopoly will take place and men will come into their own at last.

When the general attack takes place the forts of special privilege will totter under the terrific bombardment of reason and logical argument and the roadway to liberty and justice be captured.—*Philadelphia News-Post*.

"OPEN" SHOP MEANS AN ANTI-UNION SHOP.

The demand for organization and collective action was never more prevalent than today nor its necessity more keenly felt. Under present conditions the worker must at all times be up and ready to go, as he has no assurance that his conditions are secure, and the employer is on the anxious seat, not knowing what moment a demand will be made upon him, a condition that does not lend itself to sanity, clear thinking, or tolerance for the other's viewpoint from either side.

The open shop, even if the union man is not discriminated against, if the principle of collective bargaining is denied, is in the last analysis an anti-union shop, because in the absence of such provision the employer dictates absolutely the conditions as to who shall work, where they shall work, how they shall work, when they shall work, and under what conditions and for what wages—the very antithesis of freedom (even of contract).

It is evident that even at its best only a form of benevolent despotism can exist under such conditions. It may be argued that "the latch string always hangs out for our employes and an audience may be had at any time with the manager to adjust a wrong." But it is a noticeable fact that where the latch string "hangs" out, the employe who may take advantage of the privilege (if any of them are so foolish) is usually "hung." He generally receives a notice that the company will not need his services after this date as it feels that as he is dissatisfied with his employment it would not be congenial for his fellow employes to have him around.

As for the justice of it, every tyrant in history had specified days upon which his faithful subjects might have audience with him and present their wrongs. They went with their hats in their hands to have their grievances rectified, but justice was never granted on the merits of the complaint, but on the whim or mood of the despot. Justice never was secured under such conditions and it is a salient fact that it never will be.—*H. S. McCluskey, in Arizona Labor Journal.*

ESSENCE OF THE "UNION SHOP."

In brief, the union shop stands for collective bargaining and insists that in this age and generation neither the employer nor the individual wage worker can be permitted to do "just as he pleases."

When men are cast at sea they have a right to insist that each shall do his

share in bailing out the boat and keeping lookout for a passing sail. So, when men are engaged in any task involving a certain amount of co-operative effort to insure the personal safety of all, they have a right to require that whoever seeks to join them shall first pledge himself to perform his due share of such effort. These propositions are rudimentary, they are universally conceded as just, and universally practiced as necessary.

In principle the attitude of the labor movement is based upon the same conception of justice and necessity. When the members of a trade-union have by the expenditure of their own time and means created certain conditions necessary to their safety and well-being in a given industry or institution, it is morally their right and logically their duty to insist that the non-unionist who seeks to share these conditions shall first agree to share the labor and expenditure necessary to their maintenance—in other words, to insist that he shall join the union. Such, in essence, is the whole argument for the union shop, or the so-called "closed shop." It is an argument every whit as sound as that of the castaways, and its soundness would be generally perceived and as generally granted but for the fact that other, and entirely different, arguments have been raised to obscure it.

The opponents of the labor movement confuse the issue by attributing to it claims which it has not made, claims which, on the contrary, it has distinctly and emphatically disclaimed. In fact, the basis of the opposition to the labor movement is a man of straw. It is charged that "the union shop is a blow at the freedom of the individual to sell his labor to whom he will and to work where he pleases." Leaving aside the obvious and entirely unwarranted inference contained in this statement, *i. e.*, that in the case of the so-called "open shop" the individual is free to work where he pleases, the charge is absolutely baseless. Again, it is charged that the union shop "creates arbitrarily a class of men whose rights are taken away in violation of the principle upon which our very existence as a government depends." If the labor movement were really guilty in these respects there would be ground for serious criticism. But the truth is that the labor movement does not deny any right of either the non-unionist or the employer of non-union labor.

The labor movement grants the right of the non-unionist to "sell his labor to whom he will and to work where he pleases;" also, it grants the right of the employer to buy his labor of whom he will and to hire where he pleases. The labor movement grants these rights upon legal, although it questions them upon moral grounds. Practically, the only obstacle to these rights offered by the labor movement consists in the refusal of its members to work where these rights are insisted upon. In the latter regard the trade-unionist is simply exercising his own right in the premises. As long as the right of the trade-unionist to refuse to work is recognized as equal with that of the non-unionist to work where he pleases the argument against the union shop will never rise above the dignity of bugaboo.

Of course, it is contended that the refusal of the trade-unionist to work with the non-unionist results practically in one or the other of two conditions. Either the non-unionist must join a union, or he must remain idle. This, so far as it is true, is merely confessing that the organized workers in a given industry are in the majority. In such case the question becomes simply one as to whose rights—those of the majority or those of the minority—shall prevail. The answer to that question seems obvious. Certainly, when it is considered that the rights of the trade-unionist are a practical, substantial quantity, while those of the non-unionist are purely theoretical, there can be no room for argument among sensible, unprejudiced men. The shipwrecked man undoubtedly has both a legal and a moral right to share the life boat with his mates, yet his refusal to share the labor of keeping her afloat, should it result in the refusal of his companions in distress to take him on board, may mean his death by drowning. But who can blame the men in the boat if they refuse

to give practical effect to the right of one man at the risk of drowning all hands? The union shop is a life boat on the industrial sea, open to every swimmer and closed only to the fellow who won't bail. —*Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary-Treasurer California State Federation of Labor.*

TOUCHSTONE OF LABOR'S SUCCESS.

The one thing which employers fear in labor organizations is power. Power is necessary to make these organizations effective. Some employers have officially indorsed labor organizations of the "proper kind." Of course the proper kind in their estimation is the carefully expurgated edition from which all evidences of power have been carefully repressed. Such institutions would be labor organizations in name only.

Only where organizations have power do they have effectiveness in bringing betterment into the lives of their members. Power cannot exist unless there exist the sinews and munitions for sustained insistence upon demands and rights. The power of an organization is related in a very vital sense to membership and to the dues paid into the union treasury.

Those organizations which are vigorous and powerful to promote the well-being of their members are invariably those organizations which have established high dues. Union funds constitute a kind of insurance for those who contribute them. Considered from a business viewpoint there is no investment that will give so high a rate of returns as union dues.

When the resources of an organization are ample, wages movements may be undertaken with a spirit of confidence and independence that has a helpful reaction upon reluctant employers.

Resources facilitate the extension of organization which in turn increases the power of the organization through increasing solidarity. Union resources put confidence into the unorganized to incur risks resulting from an enlistment in the ranks of the organized. Union resources protect the workers from wage reductions and poorer conditions of work because the power of self-defense constitutes a real argument against injury or provocation of contest.

A low-dues paying policy is not a profitable or a wise policy for organized labor. Indeed it would be good business sense to increase dues with every wage increase—the wage increase was due to organization and stronger organization will in turn bring other wage increases.

As union dues are increased more benefits can be made increasingly helpful and can be extended in variety. These benefits can be managed by the organizations more cheaply and more satisfactorily than similar insurance can be furnished by State and private agencies. Assuring the unions control over these benefits removes all doubt of such assistance in industrial disputes.

Labor organizations embody an ideal, but that ideal must rest upon a practical basis if the ideal is to become reality. The practical resources to make any ideal reality depend in some degree upon the financial resources at command. The question of higher dues is one of fundamental importance to all workers. It is a matter that must not be pushed aside. It is a matter that should be given most careful and wise consideration. It is a fundamental matter because the dues paid in a large measure determine the power which the organization exercises for the cause of human welfare.—*President Gompers.*

INJUNCTIONS DESTROY POWER OF ORGANIZATION.

As is indicated, the most urgent State legislative demand is for a law to regulate and limit the use of the injunctive process to protect wage-earners from perversion of anti-trust legislation to apply to associations of human beings.

One of the methods that employers have used to prevent workers from protecting themselves against oppression and from organizing to promote their interests is the theory that labor power is a commodity and therefore property. In accord with this theory hostile employers invoke anti-trust laws in order to re-

strain or destroy labor unions, and they have wrongfully used the writ of injunction to control the actions of workers and labor organizations and to deny workers courses of action to which they have constitutional and legal right. The injunction and anti-trust law proved a very pliable and disastrous weapon in the interest of labor exploiters.

When the labor sections of the Clayton anti-trust act were adopted it was no longer possible for employers to have the assistance of Federal anti-trust laws in their industrial conflicts with employes. Accordingly their efforts have been transferred to State courts and the number of State injunctive proceedings in cases of industrial disturbances has increased tremendously during the past year. The workers realize that the very existence of organized labor is endangered unless they secure necessary protective legislation.—*President Gompers.*

MILITANT UNIONISTS DID IT.

WASHINGTON. — The editor of the *Farmers' Open Forum* in the last issue commends the militant and progressive work done by the labor group in Congress, and is insistent on having the farmers' organizations elect similar representatives to work with the trade unions. He deals with the subject as follows:

"Samuel Gompers in a recent speech said there were 17 members of Congress members of labor unions and that the labor group has proved a powerful factor in securing legislation in the interest of the advancement of labor. He might very properly have added that they constituted a group on which the farmers could always rely to support the farmers' legislative program.

"The success of the labor organization in securing direct representation in Congress with a membership large enough to secure right recognition of the interest of labor is an object lesson to organized farmers. The time is here when the organized farmers should make it a leading part of their national program to secure direct representation in Congress with a group large enough to attend to all the varied interests of agriculture. A group of farmer Congressmen of from 17 to 50 members of equal ability with the labor members, doing the same strong team work, and showing the same loyalty to the farmers' cause that the labor members show to their cause, would be epoch-making in its effect on the advancement of agriculture. From now on let this be the goal to be steadily worked for.

"How did organized labor secure such a splendid direct representation in Congress? By adopting as its policy the militant non-partisanship we advocate for farmers and of which our special campaign numbers are evidence of the kind of non-partisanship we mean. For many years the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have been militantly aggressive in supporting their friends in Congress and in showing up the record and helping to defeat their enemies. The candidates and the party which give the best support to labor measures as approved by the national body get the support of the organization and, in steadily increasing measure, the labor vote. The consistency with which this policy has been pursued for a number of years past has convinced parties, and members of all parties, that the only way to get the labor vote is to pay close attention to labor demands. The result has been that in districts where organized labor is strong, labor candidates are looked upon kindly by the best element in all parties."

THE DISRUPTER.

Secession from the organized labor movement or attempts to disrupt existing organizations mean to the wage earners the destruction of their one means of protection. Whatever the purpose of advocates of secession may be, their propaganda is fatal to the democratic organization of workers, fatal to the interests of the seceders, cowardly desertion of the general interests of all the workers. If the cause for which seceders stand is just they would be willing to remain among their fellows and to work for the establishment of their ideals of justice.—*Samuel Gompers.*

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E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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Editorial.

Low wages is the greatest cause of high disease rate.

If we would think more than we talk we would all be better off.

Much has been done for the conservation of our natural national recources and for lower animals, but the poor human animal, who has to bear the brunt of our brutal economic system is given little consideration—he must swim out of the torrent without the offering hand of real help.

A certain Court Judges' Association says its members cannot live on $3,500.00 per year and have issued a new scale of $5,000.00, an increase of about $5.00 per day, and yet these same dispensers of justice will issue an injunction against the members of another union when they are asking for an increase of only 2 to 3 cents per hour. The dispensers of justice have indeed a most consistent way of viewing things. The old saying, "the view point," it is the other fellow's point of view.

Ex-President Taft, in his usual narrow legal-minded way, takes another slap at Gompers. In speaking before an assemblage in St. Louis on October 26th in behalf of the Hughes campaign, he made the statement that Gompers has delivered the labor vote to the Democrat side of the campaign. Mr. Taft knows his statement to be untrue; he knows that Gompers or no other labor leader carries the labor vote in his vest pocket with a right or privilege to deliver.

The trouble with Mr. Taft is that the Trade Unionists have been taught in the Labor Union school to think and know what they want and how to vote themselves, and partisanism has waned to that extent, and Mr. Taft has learned by experience that the Organized Labor vote is not as strictly partisan as it used to be. Labor is now supporting economic and reform issues to the exclusion of the old party political idea.

If the Republican party instead of the Democratic party had offered issues that had in them any good offices for the people who create the great accumulating wealth, the position would be reversed.

Labor for so many years has been made the tossing ball of political parties, and has been very successfully prevented from getting to the bat, that the tossing has jerked their think boxes loose and started the mechanism into motion, and the result is that a decision has been reached that political party politicians have no thought for anything but themselves, and that if Labor offered a political ladder to climb into office it was used to the detriment of the people who made the ladder more times than for their good, as when the politician reached the

goal of his ambition he pushed the ladder over and in falling was broken. You cannot abuse an individual without making him do some thinking for himself. The words, why this or why that, comes up for solution, and while not by any means yet solved the solving process is in motion. What makes the politician mad at himself is, that he cannot keep on fooling his dupes without setting in motion the machinery of thought. It is this spirit and the weight of it that has moved Mr. Taft, and indeed many others, to look for a goat, and the best he can find is Gompers, who is Labor's chosen chief.

Mr. Taft knows his statement that Gompers delivers the labor vote is the rankest bunk, but he thinks he can fool a lot of people with the use of it.

There is no other institution in the land that seems to be so little understood and so often misrepresented as the Trade Union movement. This is not always by evilly intended people either. There are many good intentioned people who have the good of the workers in mind and extend it in many cases, but they way they offer it shows they are not in proper touch with the best human side of the question. They work, of course, along lines suggested by their point of view, which unfortunately gives an offense that was not intended when the offer was tendered. The workers when in an aggrieved condition are not unlike a hungry deer who has once been trapped when forced by hunger to bite at a tempting bate—after his first experience he becomes wary, and approaches a tendered offering with the idea in mind of some way or other to find out where the hidden spring may be, and it is most natural in the light of the many bitter experiences he has had. This may or may not give offense to the one who has extended his helping hand. The degree of the offense taken is predicted on the true understanding of the nature and the condition of the ones to which the extension is made. To extend a helping hand successfully there must be a knowledge born of experience, so as to know how to give it. There are some in times of great stress who break in and want to be a help, but they extend it in such a way that the receiver must surrender his way to that of the giver; another will come presenting his offer in the spirit of throwing a piece of meat to a hungry dog; yet another will make his offer in the spirit of giving a tramp a meal; yet another beclouds his offer with a patronizing atmosphere. All these assistance offers may have been based on good intentions, but all of them have the peculiar faculty of making the receiver feel as a dependent and a partial surrender of his independence which is inborn in the human breast. Neither the giver nor the receiver have any sense of good feeling as a result.

In many of our upheavals this has been the result, all because the environment which have surrounded the kindly intended has not given that understanding that carries with it a knowledge of how to extend the sympathetic hand that does not offend the sharpened senses of the recipient.

If some of our kindly disposed friends could only know what the workers have gone through in the struggle for a livelihood and light the higher places of life, they could then put themselves in the other's place and understand the sharpened senses that the everlasting greed grind brings to those who are forced to get between the upper and nether stone. If they would remember that grinding has gone on for centuries, the curtain of darkness and hope only being thinned by what has been rubbed off by the continued effort of one generation succeeding another, seeking what is ever uppermost in the human breast, a hope for better things.

To some, those who had undisputed sway of their capitalistic will, anything that may interrupt their greedy, unscrupulous plans is to them a menace, and to give it a broader application, the thing that interferes with their own plans is denounced as a public menace. The opponents of the Trade Unions have declared the Unions a menace, indeed a public menace. Those who make such a charge, make it without any knowledge

of the meaning of the word or its application to the subject of their vituperations.

If there is any institution of mankind that has been a benefit to society it is the Trade Union. Is it conceivable to assume that an instrument that has been fought for by the millions of workers the world over, an institution for which so much blood has been shed and sufferings undertaken to maintain, could be styled a menace by any one other than a selfish, greedy shrimp who has no thought of any but his own miserable, unholy ends?

In this day of centralizing of wealth power, where would the worker be if it were not for the defending protection afforded by organization against the encroachments of the centralized association of the wealth of this and other nations?

The Trade Unions have increased wages so as to give the worker a home, a place where he may keep his wife and family in decency, giving them some of the comforts under a decent standard of living, giving his children a chance for education and to prepare them to successfully meet the trials of after life that will be theirs, and keep them out of the factory life until they are properly fitted for it.

The Trade Union is responsible for the shortening of the hours of labor, giving the worker a chance to improve his mental capacity, the association with his family, and to partake of the pleasures of social intercourse that helps us all to enjoy life while here on earth, and which gives him a self respect which makes him a better citizen in the community in which he resides. The Union teaches its members how to live and work together for a common good, standing together against the vicious methods of those who would oppress and enthrall. The Union affords protection and help in times of sickness, supplying a weekly benefit during the period of disability, and in case of death a benefit is paid to the bereaved family. Old age pensions are also provided for, so that those who have given the best of their lives to their life's work may not become public charges, and forfeit an independence that they have striven to maintain through earlier years.

The Union is responsible for the passage of laws taking the school-age children out of the factory and putting them in the schools where they may be prepared to become worthy citizens, having acquired knowledge that will fit them for proper citizenship. It is responsible for the passage of many other laws for the good of its members which have been pronounced good by all who are not predisposed to prejudice. Among these laws was one passed on October 15, 1914, which says, "The Labor of a Human Being is not a Commodity or Article of Commerce," thus lifting Human Labor out of the realm of servitude under certain conditions.

If an institution that is responsible for so much good for humanity may be called a menace, it were better that we had never been born.

The press of the country has devoted pages of writing, tons of paper and streams of ink in an effort to belittle and discredit the legislation that has been passed and made into law during the past two years. Special political bombs and other munitions of war are prepared for each piece of legislation that has been placed on the statute books which puts another shingle on the workers' houses. Some of the opponents are so wrought up, and their dignity is so offended at the sight of any legislation favoring the workman's cause, that they have burst their buttons.

The trouble with them is, that they have been so accustomed to having control of the reins guiding political affairs and promoting legislation that favors their interests, and to having labor measures buried in the political cemetery, that they are beside themselves when they review the record of the past three years where labor has its day in court and to its own good. It is not hard to conceive their feelings in the premises. To lose or relinquish a jot of the power of control to another recognized political party is bad enough, but to have to admit that labor has had an inning with a good

batting average is a rebuke that has gone to the bone. These kind of people are not satisfied with the control of Court Judges, the money markets, the National, State and Municipal legisaltion, but they want to keep labor with its head just above the water line and compelled to struggle continually to keep afloat. The fact that labor got close enough to shore to get its feet on the bottom, and by a good stroke reached shore and put over some of the legislative measures that have been pending for many years—among them the Seamen's Bill, the Clayton Bill, the Child Labor Bill and a number of others—has set their teeth on edge.

When the Adamson Bill was passed, the virtues of arbitration were extolled, exalted and magnified, and the refusal of the railway men to arbitrate was hashed up by the interest-owned newspapers in all its illogical meaning. They seemed to forget that the most of labor's offers to arbitrate heretofore have been met by the statement, "We Have Nothing to Arbitrate." It is all right for the employer to say he will not arbitrate, but it is sacrilege for the workers to take such a position. Why should such a position be taken?

The trust-owned newspapers attempted to feature the inference that labor had given up, or discarded arbitration as a means of settling disputes, but their arguments were without force or effect. The sacredness of arbitration will always be revered by the Trade Unions.

There are certain fundamental conditions which any nation or institution would very properly refuse to arbitrate, and labor at times finds itself in just such a position.

For years we have had the spectacle of the money powers, aided by the press, using every means their brains can conceive to suppress the work of organizing the workers into defensive institution for the betterment of its members. In some instances their efforts have been successful, especially in the steel industry. Whenever any legislative measure favoring labor was introduced in any State legislature, or in the National legislature, the vultures would jump on it, using all the wiles of those initiated in that line of work for its defeat, but during the last Congress, they were not able to carry out their nefarious work, as despite all their opposition labor's influence carried many measures to a conclusion.

A peculiar condition of mind seems to obtain with the non-union worker with relation to the protection of his very best interests.

When the sea is placid and the ship is under full sail a smile of contentment pervades his whole soul. He seems to think that his employer has his best interests at heart and would not throw a straw in his way.

You talk to him about organizing into a Union and preparing for the inevitable storm even when the white caps may be seen in the distance, he will pooh-pooh you out of his hearing. Draw all the pictures by word or pen you may, he cannot be made to see that his most vital interests are best protected within the folds of the Union of his craft or calling. During the fair weather he feels that as an individual he is equal to any occasion or emergency, and he is unmovable in his belief. But when a squall strikes his full sailed ship the very first port he steers for is the one with a sign at the entrance spelling U-N-I-O-N. Why is it that this is the first thought that enters his mind? His sense of the need of protection is the same as with the cattle or sheep on the prairie—the sense of strength in numbers tells him that he is an individual unit outweighed by the weight of the storm that has overtaken him, he feels his impotency and the need of the associate strength derived from numbers, and that there is wisdom in the counsel of many. But why in these careless, light-hearted days did they not think of what may come in the not very distant future—the answer is not to be found in the dictionary—but when the storm breaks they seem to at once realize the strength there is in Union, and they always find Old Mother Union (like the hen) ready to gather them under her wings.

If the unorganized workers could only be induced to see the great strength there is in a unity of effort, what a different condition the workers would be facing

today. Anything in reason would be theirs for the asking.

It seems that workers in the unorganized state must be beaten and buffeted and reduced to a condition of almost slavery before the value giving motion to organization will open, and then a rush is made for the relief that is so sorely needed. They may find the relief and they may not, as that depends upon action of the wise ones who have kept their lamps burning and always full of oil, and a preparation made to receive the late comers and give them needed protection. It is not always so, however, and Trade Union history has many pages reciting the bitterest of struggles of those who have been too late in organizing, and have plenty of leisure to repent the folly of not embracing golden opportunities.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK.

To the Editor of the Tobacco Workers' Journal:

In inducing Mr. Ford to adopt the principle of equal pay to women for equal work, and to pay his female employes the same wages as to his male employes, $5.00 per day, Mr. Wilson has done more for the equality of the sexes, for equal rights, for the forward movement among women, progressiveism, than Mr. Hughes has done in a lifetime.

Mr. Wilson believes not only in equal suffrage, but in the greater principle of equal rights for all, male and female.

FRANKLIN COUCH.

Peekskill, N. Y., October 28, 1916.

LABOR REFUSES TO BE TIED TO ITS WORK.

Various plans have been devised from time to time trying to insure peaceful relations between capital and labor. Numerous persons are trying to find a solution of the labor problem. Some try to do it by profit-sharing or bonus systems; others try to do it by welfare schemes, and still others try to do it by legislation.

For quite a number of years there have been various attempts made to enact laws providing for compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes. The effort has been to use the police power of the State to compel both employing corporations and their employes to continue their activities regardless of any differences they may have as to wages or conditions of work.

There are two fundamental troubles with this plan. In the first place, every man feels that his labor is his own property and no one, not even the State, can force him to part with it, for that would be involuntary servitude or slavery. Therefore a law compelling a man to work is extremely repugnant to every man who is not a criminal or convict.

In the second place, under any specified form of compulsory arbitration law, the employer is in a position of commanding advantage. He hires the man and pays the wages; he also establishes the working conditions. He has the right to hire and discharge, and he can use that power to discriminate against any employes who are not amenable to any new regulations or working conditions he may wish to introduce.

Compulsory arbitration, therefore, amounts to an effort to compel the worker to labor whether he wishes to or not, and under conditions in which he has no voice. If a man has a quart of beans to sell and does not like the price or terms of payment offered by a possible customer, he refuses to sell the beans. But under the compulsory arbitration statutes it is contemplated that a man, the image of his Creator, shall be compelled to sell his labor power whether he wants to or not. The comparison is ridiculous.

The Dominion of Canada has adopted the compulsory idea to quite an extent, particularly as applied to public service corporations; but a recent occurrence shows that no law can be made strong enough to tie the hands of labor.

The street railways employes of Hull, in the Province of Quebec, have been for a considerable time asking for better wages and working conditions. The company pursued dilatory tactics and referred them to the statute. Finally, the employes repudiated the statute on the

grounds that the company would not be obliged to abide by any award, and notified the company that if their demands were not agreed to within 48 hours they would go on strike and tie up the system. Whereupon the company signed an agreement recognizing the union and granting the increased wages and improved working conditions.

This is another instance going to show that there is no known method of tying the hands of labor, except such reasonable restriction on both sides as may come from a mutual agreement in which the principle of collective bargaining is recognized and expressed in a trade agreement between the employer upon the one side and the union upon the other, under the terms of which each respects the rights of the other and a method of settlement of all its differences of opinion is provided.—*Butte (Mont.) Free Lance.*

REFUSING TO ARBITRATE.

Contempt for popular intelligence is shown in the claim that the railroad brotherhoods' attitude toward arbitration accounts for the refusal to arbitrate of President Shonts of New York City's street railway company. The anti-labor press so comments on that refusal. It must take for granted that the public has forgotten the many refusals of monopolistic corporations to arbitrate labor difficulties. These refusals extend over a long period of time before the railroad brotherhoods had a chance to consider an offer of that kind. If the precedent alleged to have been set by the brotherhoods may be cited as a valid excuse for Mr. Shonts, then the brotherhoods' action may be accounted for by the numerous older precedents which corporation apologists forget to mention.—*The Public.*

OPPOSE CONTROLLED LABOR.

"Slavery existed only for the purpose of controlling labor. Compulsory arbitration is suggested only for the purpose of controlling labor. Wherein is there any fundamental difference?" asks Secretary Olander of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

"What is the fundamental difference between a free man and a slave? Both work, and each may labor in the service of another. Either may have a short or a long workday, and may receive pay from the employer. Yet the free man makes progress that is impossible to the slave. What is the great difference between them?

"Is it not that the free man has the right to refuse to continue in service, that he may stop work, that he can quit his job without any fear of the law? And that the slave may not do this? That the slave is prevented by force of law? Do not all other differences between the two, the free man and the slave, grow out of this one fundamental difference?

"Compulsory arbitration denies the right to strike, and this denies the right to quit work and holds the laborer to his job against his will. Slavery, I tell you.

"But, you say, a third party is to hear the case, a decision is to be rendered and justice done to the worker.

"Don't you know, brother, that every slave State the world has ever known has had laws to 'protect' the slaves? Compulsory arbitration, the law holding the worker in the service of the employer, is a slave institution. The law decided for the man, instead of the man deciding for himself, and thus made the man a slave. To say that compulsory arbitration will not interfere with the right of the individual to quit his job is rank mockery. Forbid the individual to act with his fellows and he is helpless."

A union man is very proud of himself when he contributes a Dollar a month to his Union for dues, and thinks he has contributed to charity, he thinks that miserable little dollar will build up a powerful Labor movement, but we want to inform him that it will never be able to do very much good as long as he digs out the foundation from under the Dollar by buying scab made stogies, cigars and chewing tobacco, to say nothing of his clothing, bread and other commoditiles. Every dollar that is spent for non-union made goods tears down the Labor movement more than ten times the amount your dollar has done good.—*Ex.*

DEVELOP UNION FIRST— THEN MAKE DEMANDS.

The trade union movement in growth is not unlike many other things and beings that grow. The tree or the plant which grows rapidly and matures quickly, withers and passes into decay just as rapidly, while the sturdy oak, which grows slowly, lasts forever. The child that grows too rapidly often is unfitted for the obligations of mature life, and, moreover, often meets an early death. So it is with the trade union movement. The movement which grows slowly and acts deliberately and in keeping with experience endures forever, while the union of mushroom growth, in which the membership has no former experience and is lacking in proper leadership often makes mistakes which lead to defeat. While this is regrettable, it is not to be wondered at. If the many unions now springing into existence, especially among so-called unskilled trades and trades that are partly so, could be restrained in making demands until they had first mastered the first rudiments of trade union ethics and self-government in economics, greater progress would be made in the long run. Some of the unions now being formed organize today and go on strike for an increase of wages and shorter hours tomorrow. Others spontaneously and without any organization go on strike for an increase of wages and shorter hours and form a union after they are on strike. These efforts meet with varied and indifferent success. There is not much danger to the old, substantial, well-grounded unions with years of experience back of them, from a rapid influx, provided the present membership with experience will courageously take hold and guide the new recruits along the lines of reason until they are first familiar with trade union discipline, its hopes and aspirations, its powers, strength and limitations, and, moreover, until they are beneficial or in a position to finance strikes.—*Philadelphia News-Post.*

You are placing a premium on non-union labor every time you buy goods without the label.

THE IDEAL TRADE UNIONIST.

Even if it cannot be said that the strength of a trade union, like that of a chain, is no greater than its weakest link, it is true, nevertheless, that the character and grit of each individual member are potent factors in the fighting force of the whole body.

A union of workers for economic emancipation may be large, numerically, and strong, financially, and yet fail when the tussle comes. Another may be comparatively small and weak, and yet, if composed of members who are all imbued with an intelligent understanding of what they are out for, and a tenacity of purpose to accomplish it, will often achieve their purpose, to the astonishment of critics and the discomfiture of the enemy.

Let it never be forgotten that a trade union is not a suite of offices, a president, a secretary, a membership card and a rule book. A trade union is a body of individual men or women, whose actions, conduct, outlook and determination are all making or marring the success of the movement all the time.

It is not enough even to pay your subscription regularly and to fulfill all the laws and covenants of the society you have joined. You may still be a slack member if you merely observe the letter of the nation and miss the spirit. We have known some men in trade unions who have been most scrupulous in their attention to small duties, have never missed a meeting, never been in arrears and never caused the slightest trouble. But when it comes to giving any rational explanation of what they hoped to achieve by trade unionism they were nonplused.

On the other hand, we have members who (to hear them speak) were full of the most revolutionary ardor, and were just about to usher in the New Jerusalem with a flourish of trumpets (their own, as a rule), yet who were woefully deficient in their attendances and generally owed two or three months' subscriptions. May we be saved from both these classes!

A strong union—one capable of doing battle with the serried ranks of capitalism is one which possesses not only a good bank balance—(strikes have been

won on empty coffers before now) but strong, resolute members—members who take the trouble to understand the whole aim and policy of the working-class movement. A strong union is one wherein is exhibited a nice balance of forces—aspiration urging on leadership, and diplomacy counselling the rank and file. This ideal is impossible in a body made up of men who think they have done all that is required of them when they have seen the secretary's initial ticked against their weekly three pence. The best members—the members we want behind us when we start to do battle with the enemy—are those who are not afraid of the drudgery (and often danger) of delegate duty; are steady proselytisers—bringing outsiders into the fold like brands from the burning; are loyal to their fellows and their officers; are not afraid to put their finger on the weak places of the organization, yet who do not indulge in carping criticism at a crisis; and who, above all, are daily identifying themselves, body and soul, with the democratic uplift. With such a force we can go far. All types of workers, even in the most conservative trades, may find their level and sink their differences if this spirit is pursued. It is a high ideal, but it is the only one worth following if we want to create a union that shall be a power in the industrial world.—*The Labor Call, Melbourne, Australia.*

IT MUST BE LEARNED.

No man or woman in this world ever got justice—that thing that all know is due them—unless he or she went after it. Philanthropy is separate and apart from justice—as far as the moon is from the earth, and infinitely farther. The workers recognized this many years ago, and the American Federation of Labor is the result. It is beyond the power of man to imagine that there would have been any organization of the workers if the workers had always received fair treatment. Industrial conditions have been such that a few men have been able to secure control of a larger share of this world's goods than they are entitled to, and this has been followed by dissatisfaction of those who produce these goods. This dissatisfaction has crystallized into what are called labor unions. With this crystallization have come many forms of effort to correct the abuse—an abuse that is vital to the producers—that spells absolute life or death to them. The present-day labor union has been and is the result of nothing but oppression and unfairness on the part of the employer of labor. Lesser oppression will mean lesser unions, and greater oppression will mean greater unions. This is simply a law of nature, and those who do not understand it or who do not recognize it will inevitably have to learn the truth of it in the stern school of experience.—*Tacoma Labor Advocate.*

NO ENEMIES.

You have no enemies, you say?
Alas! my friend, the boast is poor;
He who has mingled in the fray
Of duty, that the brave endure,
Must have made foes! If you have none,
Small is the work that you have done.
You've hit no traitor on the hip,
You've dashed no cup from perjured lip,
You've never turned the wrong to right,
You've been a coward in the fight.

Chas. Mackay.

Suppose every man of the 3,000,000 trade unionists in this country, considered it a crime to buy prison products or scab labor products; suppose the merchants knew every penny of the $1,500,000,000 spent by these trade unionists would be spent only for union goods, what would you see? Every store in this broad land patronized by workingmen would have a big union label over its door. Merchants would themselves advertise the union label, and manufacturers would produce union products and hire union labor or go bankrupt. If union men bought right they would not have to strike so much.—*Robert Hunter.*

The greatest force for the betterment of the worker's condition lies in the worker himself. Not by independent effort, but by uniting with his fellow worker and presenting a solid front.

UNION PHILOSOPHY.

The world is full of those who wish to reform other people according to their own ideas.

Singularly enough, those who wish to remake other people do not relish the idea of having other people remodel them.

Each person seems to have an idea that he wants to be boss of his own affairs and of those of others as well.

We will make distinct progress if we have it distinctly understood that each individual or group has its own rights that others are bound to respect.

In respecting the rights of others we will find the fullest enjoyment of our own rights and liberties.—*Ex.*

WHAT LABOR WANTS.

First.—The same right to govern and control its asset, "labor," the employer demands for his asset, "capital."

Second.—An equal participation in the necessaries and luxuries of life accorded the employer.

Third.—The right to protect life and limb of the workers and compensate them when injured or their dependents, if killed, without private profit to individual insurers.

Fourth.—The right to do these things in combination that are not illegal when done by an individual.

Fifth.—Equal opportunity with the non-producer and the employer in educating and bringing up their offspring.—*J. G. Owens, Secretary Cleveland Federation of Labor.*

Here's to laughter, the sunshine of the soul, the happiness of the heart, the leaven of youth, the privilege of purity, the echo of innocence, the treasure of the humble, the wealth of the poor, the bead of the cup of pleasure; it dispels defection, banishes blues and mangles melancholy, for it's the foe of woe, the destroyer of depression, the enemy of grief; it is what makes kings envy peasants, plutocrats envy the poor, the guilty envy the innocent; it's the sheen on the silver of smiles, the ripple on the water's delight; the glint of the gold of gladness; without it humor would be dumb, wit would wither, dimples would disappear and smiles would shrivel, for it's a glow of a clean conscience, the voice of a pure soul, the birth-cry of mirth, the swan-song of sadness.—*Mine Workers' "Journal."*

One of the best forms of discipline is the labor union, and this is increasingly true. It used to be regarded as an engine of revolt, of defiance, of agitation and disturbance. But now nothing is finer than the self-control of most of the men who lead thought and action in the labor movement. More and more the labor unions seek not only to promote wise reforms, but to suppress unwise or untimely agitation.—*Ex.*

The labor movement has made marvelous progress in America during the past century and particularly since the establishment of the American Federation of Labor, but this progress has been due to the good sense and the loyalty of the men and women who make up the membership of our unions, and not to the waving of magic wands by fairy queens who would have us follow them.

Remember, union men should demand union label goods, and see that their dealers carry them.

Don't forget that organization increases wages and shortens the working day, making work steadier.

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to purchase bread only which bears

THIS **LABEL**

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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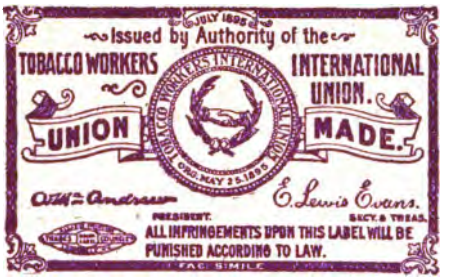

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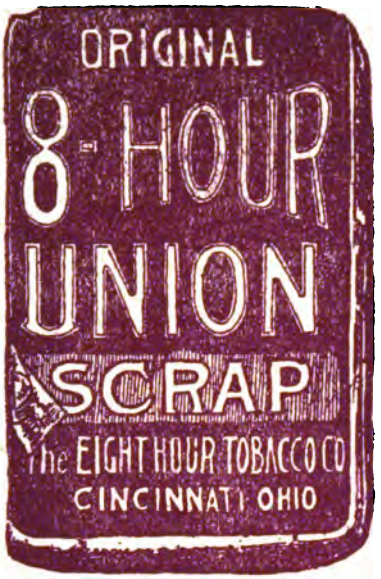

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FROM COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

NEW YORK, December.—At last, in America, Jack is every inch a sailor, and is no longer a chattel slave. The Twentieth Annual Convention of the International Seamen's Union of America, which has just closed an historic session in New York City, celebrated this fact by sending to President Wilson, as its first official act, the following telegram of congratulation:

"The International Seamen's Union of America, in twentieth annual convention assembled, sends best wishes and heartiest congratulations upon your re-election.

"For the first time in history the seamen of America are now meeting as freemen. With your own good self at the helm for four years more we feel confident of our ability to demonstrate to all America that the Seamen's Act, to which you affixed your signature, stands first for human freedom, second for greater safety of life at sea, and last but not least for equality of opportunity for the American ship and the American ship owner. ANDREW FURUSERH."

President Wilson's answering letter of thanks and best wishes was read to a convention of forty-five delegates, representing 100 per cent. more union seamen than there were in the service of American ships one year ago and before the new law went into effect.

The prophecy of Andrew Furuseth, president of the union, Able Seaman, and a supvival of the old Vikings, is coming true: *"The American sailor is going back to the sea and he is going back a free man."*

Just what that means, in its many ways, to the United States and to the internationalism of the Seven Seas was briefly indicated in statements made to the Committee on Industrial Relations by Paul Scharrenberg, editor of the *Coast Seamen's Journal* of San Francisco and a delegate to the convention, and was set forth in the report of T. A. Hanson, International Secretary of the Seamen.

"Everybody connected with the sea trades has been benefited immensely already," said Mr. Scharrengerg, "except the American investor in foreign ships whose interest was to drive American ships and sailors from the seas and to keep all sailors in every world port slaves, subject to be run down and captured and turned over to slave chains if they dared to exercise the right of every free man and quit their jobs. These same investors in foreign ships, and members of the international shipping trust, have been the same ones, by the way, who have talked so loudly about the American flag, and yet have hired Orientals at indecent wages to the practical exclusion of the American seamen.

"The American flag is being restored to the sea, along with the American sailor, by the Seamen's Act. Just consider one side of the advantage which this means. The merchantman sailor is the recruit for the nation's navy. Of the 100,000 or more union sailors in the British merchant fleets, more than 16,000 are now serving on the British men-of-war. America's necessarily growing navy will have the reserve force for time of need of the young men trained in the ways of the sea on her merchant vessels and having the fine spirit and strength that belongs only to free men.

"The American Seamen's Act is benefiting seamen all the world over," continued Mr. Scharrenberg. "As it applies to the sailors and ships of all nations that touch American ports, its result is to make all ship owners of all nations pay the same good wages and maintain the same good conditions for health and safety on the vessels. This equalization relieves the American ship owners of competition of foreign low wages and of 'fugitive slave laws' for seamen and of unsafe vessels."

Condensing the benefits of the law, Secretary Hanson's report asserted:

"The change has been not alone in improved safety, in the working conditions and to some extent in the wages of the men, but the whole life on ship board has been improved, and instead of the old spirit of bitterness and hatred, inevitable under the slave laws that held the men, there is an air of freedom and a growing recognition of rights and responsibilities on the part of everybody connected with the ship. It is certain that after the Seamen's Act has been in operation another year or two, that not even the ship owners will want to repeal it. Instead, we will find that all other maritime nations will follow the lead set by the United States."

The internationalism of the convention was strongly emphasized by the presence and active participation in it of delegates from Great Britain and from Japan. Delegates B. Suzuki, of the latter country, and J. Henson, of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as Richard McGhee, Member of Parliament, and Harry Gosling, who had been delegates from Great Britain to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, told of the efforts not only of their respective countries but of all the foreign countries to have similar seamen's laws enacted there. A special bulletin and an attempt to value the message of these foreign delegates to the seamen and to the trade-union movement in general will be issued soon by the Committee on Industrial Relations.

As showing what the merchant sailors of Europe thought of the American seamen's Act, the visiting delegates told of the appropriation by the union of Great Britain of more than $400 to help the American International to resist efforts to repeal the law. They told also of that union's purpose to contribute constantly if need be for the upholding of real manhood liberty on the sea.

Now to have the Seamen's Act so administered, through the Department of Commerce, that its full spirit and letter shall be put into effect is the great aim of the International as it was of the convention. The worst offense against the law and against the seamen is the slack and truly unlawful way in which the Department of Commerce, under its present direction, "softens" the language tests for the crews and thus still in many cases permits vessels to be manned by coolies and by ignorant, incompetent persons who do not understand the uninterpreted, emergency orders of their officers. Delegates to the convention condemned Eugene T. Chamberlain, Commissioner of Navigation, and George C. Uhler, Chief of the Steamboat Inspection Bureau, in the Commerce Department, as being responsible directly, and blamed Secretary Redfield as being responsible at least indirectly, for this violation and partial negation of the beneficent law.

The fast growing strength of the fast growing International Seamen's Union of America was pledged for the fight against these administrative non-enforcements of the law.

TRADE UNIONS PAVE EVERY REFORM PATH.

In a recent speech to the Detroit Street-Car Men's Union, International President Mahon, of that organization, said:

"The trade-union movement of the entire world is doing all that is being done to elevate, to better the conditions of mankind. I say that without fear of successful contradiction. When you investigate the betterment of conditions you will find that it's the trade-union movement that is doing it.

"Some years ago I had the pleasure to investigate conditions in Europe. In Germany I found municipally-owned and privately-owned roads. When I talked with trade-union officials, especially in

our line of work, they said it mattered not whether on municipal or private, it was the trade-union movement that improved conditions. Some of the municipally-owned lines were worse than the others. I found that on the State-owned roads of Germany the men were absolutely unorganized except in certain cases. In the armies of Germany are whole divisions and companies of men, engineers and others, who would take control in time of trouble.

"In France I expected something different, because France is a republic. In Paris I found the only change in conditions came from organizations of the unions, and that continued efforts of the trade unions of Paris made better conditions.

"In Switzerland, one of the oldest republics on earth, I expected that through political influence it would bring about changes. In Bazel a splendid meeting was held and the president of the organization for the country was there. In Bazel is a municipally-owned road. They work twelve hours by the laws of the canton, but through their union they made it ten hours.

"In Germany, in France, in Great Britain, in America, the workers have first established the hours and then made the laws accordingly. The trade unions have blazed the way. To the trade unions we owe more than to anything else."—*Ex.*

HOW DECEMBER 25 WAS CHOSEN.

How many people know why Christmas came to fall on December 25th?

Everybody knows that it is the day celebrated alike by Catholic, Protestant and Greek churches as the nativity of Christ, yet nobody knows if it is the actual date.

The uncertainty is due to the prejudice of early Christians against the celebration of birthdays. They regarded such a custom as heathenism, and made no exception, even to their Savior's birthday.

It was not until Christianity had triumphed, three centuries later, that the prejudice against the observance of birthdays died out, and an investigation as to the date of Christ's birthday was begun.

Julius, Pope or Bishop of Rome, asked Saint Cyril in 386 to ascertain the real anniversary of the nativity. Saint Cyril reported the rate to be December 25th, to the best of his knowledge, after extensive research, and the date was accepted by Julius and promulgated as the anniversary of Christ's birth. Before the end of the fifth century the date was accepted by all Christendom.

January 6th, April 20th, March 20th and March 29th are some of the dates that were serious contenders for the distinction before December 25th received the seal of Julius' approval.

Even after the date was generally accepted by all Christian nations the holiday had its struggles. The English Roundhead Parliament of 1643 abolished Christmas, and for twelve years it was not observed in England. Royalty gained the ascendency, however, and Christmas was re-established as a national holiday.

Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, in 1621, history says, had occasion to rebuke some young men, who had come over in the ship Fortune, following in the trail of the Mayflower, because their consciences would not allow them to work on Christmas, with their sterner Puritan brothers.

In 1659 the General Court of Massachusetts passed a law fixing a fine of five shillings against any one who should, by abstinence from labor, feasting or any other method, observe Christmas.—*Pittsburgh Iron Trade Review.*

EPIGRAMS.

In the field of endeavor people are divided into two classes: those who imitate or take orders, and those who blaze the trail and do things. One is the plodder and the other the originator of new ideas and ways of doing things.

It is well to be obedient where obedience is desirable; but it is better to be resourceful.

When Alexander could not untie the Gordian knot he cut it with his sword.

A resoruceful man is one who, when he can not do a thing one way, does it another.

He keeps trying.

When it is time to quit he begins.

When he is licked he begins fighting again.

Success in life is not like shooting at a mark with a rifle; it is like trying to hit a mark with a stream of water from a hose; you just keep on till finally you hit it.

It is well to know how; it is better to try, for by trying you learn how.

Success is like picking a lock, not like working an example in long division. It is like solving a rebus more than it is like demonstrating a theorem in geometry.

It is like starting a fire with a damp wood more than it is like getting a chemical reaction in a laboratory.

It is like fitting together pieces of a torn letter more than it is like building a wall of bricks.

All the big things are accomplished by trying, trying, trying. Only the little things can be done by rule and a mediocre mind to do them.

To paint a great picture means infinite approximations. None is painted by rule.

The man who fails is not the man who has no gifts, no chance, no pull, no encouragement, no training; it is the man who quits. Genius is the inexhaustible capacity for going on.

Training, education and the like before you go to work is valuable; but it is the training and education you get by and while you work that counts most.

There are three rules that govern us through life in our effort to grow, expand and bring something worth while to pass. The first is: Go on. The second is: Go on. And the third is: Go on.

Life is endless experiment; wisdom is the precipitate of experiment; belief is the spirit of experiment; character is the subjective result of experiment, and success the objective result.—*United Mine Workers' Journal.*

LOOKING BACKWARD.

The workingman who doesn't believe in trade unions ought to read a little and then think a little. Prior to 1820 the work day was 11 to 12 hours or from sun to sun. In that year the agitation for a ten-hour day became quite common and resulted in quite a number of strikes. The merchants, manufacturers and employers generally pledged themselves not to employ laborers unless they agreed to work 12 hours for $1 a day.

From 1830 to 1865 the ten-hour contests resulted in a number of strikes and lockouts. The conspiracy laws sent hundreds of our wage worker fathers and grandfathers to jail, the military was called out on the slightest pretext, and the ten-hour agitators were openly denounced.—*Ex.*

OPPOSE "CAN'T-STRIKE" LAW.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—President Wilson's recommendation to Congress that a "can't-strike" law be passed will be opposed by the American Federation of Labor and the railroad brotherhoods.

At the last convention of the A. F. of L., held in Baltimore, the report of the Executive Council on this question was unanimously adopted.

"Involuntary and compulsory labor once enforced," it was stated, "even for a single hour, will not halt at its temporary enforcement, but will go on and become permanent.

"The human labor power which this law compels wage earners to give to their employers against their will is inseparable from the body and the personality of the men and women themselves. They cannot be forced to work for an employer against their wills without reducing them to the legal condition of slaves and transforming their minds and spirits into those of slaves. No more dangerous proposition has ever been proposed than this compulsory investigation measure.

"Compulsory institutions to prevent strikes are not new. They have been found in other countries and found wanting."

MAYOR ROLPH BARS GUNMEN.

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 9.—Mayor Rolph has blocked the chamber of commerce in its attempt to surround a non-union job with armed gunmen.

"There will be no gunmen picketing city property," he declared. "The cham-

ber of commerce succeeded in having an anti-picketing ordinance alopted at the last election and I intend to see that no armed pickets are used in labor difficulties."

A strike was called by structural iron workers, employed by Dyer Brothers, who have the contract for erecting an addition to a hospital. The contractors refused to obey the State law and place planking between the floors of the structure, thereby protecting the lives of workers.

When the union workers struck because of this violation of law the chamber of commerce furnished four armed gunmen to protect the strikebreakers. The business men are silent on the question of organized workers striking to protect their lives, and to enforce the State law.

DEATHS IN INDUSTRY APPALL.

In calling attention to the fourth annual industrial, welfare and efficiency conference, held in Harrisburg, Pa., last week Commissioner Jackson of the State Department of Labor and Industry says:

"The industrial accident list this year in Pennsylvania has already passed the 200,000 mark, with over 2,000 deaths, and will, I believe, approach 300,000 by the end of the year with the corresponding number of deaths. It will take earnest and sustained action on the part of all to stop this enormous economic loss.

"In this country, as in most other countries, but little distinct attention has been given to the problem of employment by the community as a whole. The financial waste to the State, the employer and the employe, by reason of the haphazard method of dealing with this most important problem, is worthy of very immediate and energetic attention."

WHO COMES HERE?

I am more powerful than the combined armies of the world.

I have destroyed more men than all the wars of the world.

I am more deadly than bullets and I have wrecked more homes than the mightiest siege guns.

I steal, in the United States alone, over $300,000,000 each year.

I spare none and I find my victims among the rich and poor alike, the young and old, the strong and weak. Widows and orphans know me.

I loom up in such proportions that I cast my shadow over every field of labor from the turning of the grindstone to the moving of every railroad train.

I massacre thousands upon thousands of wage-earners in a year.

I lurk in unseen places and do most of my work silently. You are warned against me, but you heed not.

I am relentless. I am everywhere; in the home, on the streets, in the factory, at railroad crossings and on the sea.

I bring sickness, degradation and death, and yet few seek to avoid me.

I destroy, crush, maim, take all and give nothing.

I am your worst enemy.

I AM CARELESS!—*Ex.*

OVERWORK ENDANGERS.

American people are overworked and are approaching a breakdown, declares Miss Josephine Goldmark, of the National Consumers' League, who repeats the insistent claim of organized labor that shorter working days are necessary to preserve health and ideals.

"Overwork is the greatest single menace to public health in America," she said. "People are dying younger in America than ever before. Workers are wearing out more quickly. The diseases which are carrying them off are plainly the diseases of overwork. The death rate from apoplexy and nervous diseases has increased 19 per cent. in ten years, according to the census records of five million working people; from heart disease the increase has been 29 per cent.; from diseases of the kidneys and urinary system, 43 per cent., and from diseases of the liver and digestive organs, 34 per cent. It does not take a physician to know that these diseases are typically the diseases of fatigue. Fatigue is poison. It is the poisoning of the system by worn-out cells which would normally be carried out of it. If activity is not balanced by rest, life itself is threatened."

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E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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Editorial.

Knockers, like the poor, we will always have with us. He thinks, no doubt, in his clouded brain that he is doing a real work, so we must have compassion for his poor shriveled-up soul.

Have we a right to organize? Have we as workers the right to negotiate collectively for the improvement of our individual interests? These seem to be the questions coming before the United States Supreme Court in a suit filed on appeal from West Virginia, that notorious spot where the State laws or judge-made laws deny the right of labor to organize for its own protection. The pleadings, no doubt, will very interesting, but we venture to say that the right to organize will be sustained when the time comes that the United States Supreme Court, or any other, denies labor the right to organize. Either the courts or the labor unions will have outlawed themselves, and their usefulness as protective features and parts of our American life will have ended. We hope to see neither.

Local No. 137, of Brooklyn, N. Y., one of the recently organized local unions, gave a dance on Friday, December 1st, which was a social and financial success. It was one of the nicest entertainments we have had the pleasure of attending for many a long day.

The officers and many of the members, with their ladies, were in attendance in evening dress, and an excellent dance program was given to each one in attendance. The tripping of the light fantastic was enjoyed until the wee sma' hours in the morning. At midnight the grand march took place. The Floor Committee, in the second evolution, presented the ladies with a large bouquet of flowers.

President McAndrew and Secretary Evans were extended invitations, and being in New York at the time, spent a most enjoyable evening.

The railroad situation in this country and the controversy between the railroad managements and the organized men has made a number of normally very level heads turn their minds to forced settlement of disputes between the managements and their employes. Most of those who have given the subject any depth of thought, and run the thing to its logical conclusion, have come to the stone wall upon which is painted the words "involuntary servitude" (slavery). Again there are a number who have not plowed deeply in the field, and have stopped short of a logical end, and have arrived at the conclusion that strikes or suspensions of work, especially in public utility employment, must stop and employes must be made, by force, to continue work; to continue to labor under the conditions they are protesting against. Force is a necessary element for certain protections

of individuals when it is kept within reasonable bounds, but when it is carried beyond a certain limit it expresses tyranny.

When law becomes tyrannical it breeds revolt. This country as a nation was brought into life by the foolish enforcement of tyrannical laws. The protests against the application of these laws were many, and of long standing, and were by the authorities consigned to the waste basket. When it was made certain that protesting was of no avail, then came the revolt, and we all know the result.

However, since the final settlement of our separation with the Mother country, there has been an element who were fond of force, where the worker was concerned, which has been endeavoring to keep the toilers in subjection and amenable to a principle of servitude. This element has grown in force and strength and pursues a policy having for its base the principle that labor is a commodity and comes under the laws of force.

It might be well for this element to look further into the future when considering the element of force. They wish to have adopted a rigid law prohibiting the right of suspension of work. If they would, they would see that the whole matter of force is fraught with grave dangers. Liberty of action, and freedom of speech and press are principles that are set deeply in the mind of the American citizen and those who attempt to abridge any or all of these principles do so at a peril. The Americans are lovers of peace and the hard-fought-for liberties, and will peacefully protest against infringements. They are long-suffering, but they also know when the limit is reached, and woe be he who attempts to enforce their fool ideas beyond an established limit. Their long-suffering must not be mistaken for servility.

Not all of our members are imbued with the spirit of progress and loyalty to themselves and their local union that they should have.

Much has been written and spoken from the rostrum exhorting the membership of trade unions to give the union of their trade or calling a larger share of their thought and effort in its upbuilding and giving it a greater effective force in its return of good to the individual members. These exhortations, while read and listened to with apparent interest, too much of it is lost on the desert-air, only a small part of it seeming to take effect and, of course, education and moral force and backing in the interest of the greatest saving influence for the good of mankind is measured by the amount that is absorbed by the individual. In looking over our exchanges the following article, which is full of richness of thought, was clipped.

The article was among a number especially written for reading at the fiftieth anniversary banquet given by a local union of the Typographical Union.

We commend it to the careful reading by our members, and they will find many gems of thought worthy of meditation:

"A trade union is like a bank. If you expect to get anything from it you must put something into it. No union can honor the drafts of a member on its support, its confidence and its moral backing unless that member gives to the union his support, his confidence and his moral backing. The union run on any other principle goes bankrupt.

"The blindness of many men to these elementary principles accounts for the weakness of many locals and for the indifference of many who are or have been nominally union men. These men want to reverse all the laws of nature and of business—to keep getting forever and to give never. They want the union to stand by them in their demands, to assist them in sickness and to defend them in difficulties, and when the union fails to do this they never stop to ask whether they are entitled from what they have put into the union to the help they ask at its hands.

"If you wish the maximum returns on your investment in organized labor choose that investment wisely in all its parts. Give it your financial help—not grudgingly when your card is due, but gladly and generously when it must make a special appeal. Give it your moral sup-

port—not as though its officers were seeking to take unfair advantage of their position, but freely and frankly, as fellow craftsmen. Give it your constant encouragement—not merely on the floor of the local, but in your shop and among non-union men. The poorest advertising organized labor gets is from its disaffected members. Give your union your presence and your counsel—not alone when the delegates to the convention are chosen or the little "plums" are awarded, but in the transaction of all its business. Give the union the same loyal faith you give your wife or your church, remembering that to some men you are a mirror of organized labor and that labor will be judged by you. The man who has no faith in a brotherhood to which he belongs is potentially a traitor to it.

"Make this sort of an investment and expect to get from it—what? Good interest on your money? Protection in sickness or old age? Relief in distress? You will get these things and something more, something better, something bigger. If you are the right kind of a union man you will get from it the consciousness that you are an integral part of a great constructive agency. You will gather strength from number, inspiration from service, confidence from faith. You will be a workman whose manhood is not subordinated to his work."—*Typographical Journal.*

The road to freedom, from the rule of the privileged class, must be fought for and won by the workers themselves. The old adage which says that "he who would be free must himself strike the blow," is as true today as it was in the days of the Revolution.

With a few notable exceptions, history establishes the fact that the workers have been accorded justice only when they have made a sufficient manifestation of strength to demand it from the employers.

The wealthy in olden times, as with us today, strained the workers to the last wiggle, coining their strength and producing power into the wealth with which they used to keep their toilers in servitude, and acquiescent in their lowly condition of obedience to the rule of predatory wealth. For fear that the workers might get their heads above water enough to encourage the hope of some day doing better, the lowest possible price for all work done was maintained, getting a maximum return from the lowest minimum expense. This went on from ancient times until far into the nineteenth century when organization among the workers began to show some signs of strength and influence. Education played no small part in this movement for a betterment; education lighted the way to organization and organization gave the power.

Where the power was used, the employer recognized it and yielded to it; but predatory wealth, recognizing the great powers to be derived from organization, began to organize the smaller commercial units into larger units, and as their power grew, the larger units were organized into great aggregations of corporate wealth. Then began a new series of repressive measures on the wage-earning class. This pressure forced the workers to adopt further measures of protection for their most vital interests. The oppressions forced upon the workers by the predatory Barons of Commerce gave force and effect for the organization of the wage earners, who, recognizing their helplessness as individuals, began to organize with a determined purpose to create a collective force, to meet a force and stand collectively as a bar to the oppressions of the ever increasing powers of predatory wealth. It was found that force meeting force, each of a determined character, made common field of meeting necessary. Capital, realizing the force of numbers through a centralized unit must be reckoned with, stepped down from their heretofore exalted attitude and accepted a policy of collective bargaining. They did it, however, with very bad grace, and after the closing up of their tentative contractile relations, their power with the legislatures and the courts was brought into play, and no stone was left unturned in an endeavor to break the power of the collective force of the Trade Unions. While in instances they have succeeded for a short time in breaking the force

that opposed them, in the main, the forces and influences of justice have prevailed, and Trade Unions have grown until they have become a moral and intellectual force that monopoly has had to recognize and deal with. The surrendering of any of the powers that monopoly had arrogated to itself in dictating its own terms in remunerating labor for its production, yielded only after many bitter contests. These contests and their following train of sufferings together with the glorious results has been the means of awakening labor to the necessity for organization and demonstrated the possible opportunities from collective action through the Trade Union of their trade or calling.

Organization goes apace, but only as intelligence growing out of economical education does it become more deeply rooted in the minds of the workers, and it is only when the wage-earners are thoroughly organized that they will be able to meet the forces of capital in open field and hold their own. It is then, and only then, that monopoly will give full recognition to the power and force of labor and treat with them, in a business way, for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work as they meet their equals on the common grounds of a commercial commodity transaction.

Organization of labor is the only thing that will secure to the individual the proper return for the labor expended in any given trade or calling.

Organize! educate! and organize without let-up!

During the opening ceremonies of the A. F. of L. Convention recently held in Baltimore, Secretary of Labor, Honorable W. B. Wilson, made an address in his usual eloquent style and was listened to very attentively. One of the chief features of his address was a resume of the incidents leading up to the establishment of the Department of Labor, dating back to times before many of us were of value in the labor movement.

The address is one of great interest to all of us and is submitted in full, so that all of our members may read and think further upon our ever growing position of importance.

Secretary Wilson's address is as follows:

"*Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Trade Unionists:* I have not come here this morning for the purpose of making a speech. I am very much in the position that Granny Murray was in my little home mining town of Blossburg, Pa., a great many years ago, when her son Jack went out one evening and shortly afterward Granny was informed that he was engaged in a fistic encounter with several young men down the street. She was excited at the news, and immediately grabbed a broom and started for the scene of the conflict. Her neighbors endeavored to hold her back, saying: 'Granny, there is no use of you going down there; you cannot help Jack out any.' She said: 'Let me go! Let me go! I can at least show which side I am on!' And I am here today, not to make a speech, but for the purpose of showing which side I am on.

"The allegation has frequently been made that trade unionists are selfish; that they are seeking to promote their own welfare, to advance their own interests to the exclusion of those who are unorganized; yet everyone who has observed and studied the trade-union movement of our own times, and of the times gone by, knows that the most altruistic movement the world has ever produced is the trade-union movement.

"Reference has been made to the splendid legislative measures that have been enacted in the State of Maryland, in other states and in our Federal Government. Everyone familiar with the fact knows that legislatures are not prone to act on humanitarian legislation, on legislation for the promotion of the welfare of the great mass unless there is some pressure at home to cause them to act. With an unorganized body of workers at home, with the workers acting only as individuals, they are ineffective in bringing that pressure to bear upon legislatures which is essential in order to secure the humanitarian legislation necessary for the welfare of our people. It has been only by virtue of the association together of numbers of the workers in organization and the concentrated pres-

sure that organization has enabled them to exercise that we have been able to secure remedial legislation in the State of Maryland, in the other states and from our Federal Congress.

"The remedial legislation we have secured was secured as a direct result of organized wageworkers' efforts and when it is brought about the non-union man—nay, the man we speak of not simply as a non-union man but the man who deserts and betrays the union movement that we speak of as a 'scab'—secures the benefit of the legislation as well. And what more altruistic movement could we have than the movement that hands out improvement to its enemies?

"The probability is that I would not be here on this platform today, but I might be one of the delegates from my trade union were it not for the fact that the organized labor movement, after nearly fifty years' agitation succeeded in securing the creation of a Department of Labor. Away back in 1865 the old National Union, in existence at that time, at a convention in Louisville, Ky., declared for a department of labor. We had numerous other departments; almost every other industry in our country was represented in the councils of the President of the United States, but labor was unrepresented.

"We had our foreign affairs represented by the Department of State, our financial affairs represented by the Treasury Department, our legal affairs represented by the Department of Justice, our military affairs by the Department of War and the Department of the Navy, our transportation of intelligence, and to some extent of freight, by the Postoffice Department, our educational facilities and our interior development by the Department of the Interior, our agricultural interests by the Department of Agriculture, our commercial interests by the Department of Commerce; but that great body of our citizenship comprising more than one-half of the workers of our country was unrepresented in the councils of the President of the United States.

"In 1865 the old National Union declared for the establishment of such a department, and after nearly twenty years' agitation in the early part of the eighties a department of labor was created. The department of labor at that time created had a commissioner as its executive head. There are many people who imagine that somewhere in our Constitution or in our statutory laws a body has been created known as the Cabinet of the President of the United States. No such body exists by virtue of any written law, constitutional or otherwise; it is in existence purely by virtue of the fact that the first President of the United States called into his councils the heads of the five departments then in existence. From that precedent the Cabinet was established, and it had been further established that no one would be called into the councils of the President as an executive adviser who did not hold the status of the secretary of a department. When a department of labor was created in the early eighties, with a commissioner as its head, organized labor believed the commissioner would be called into the councils, while the President took the opposite ground—that he had not the status that entitled him to go into the councils.

"The labor movement continued to agitate for a change in the status of the commissioner to a secretary, but instead of getting that change some ten years later a new department was created, a Department of Commerce and Labor, with a secretary at its head. The organized workers at that time believed that with a Department of Commerce and Labor created it would be only a question of time—and a very short time—until the labor end of it would be the tail of the dog—and a very small tail at that. Their belief in the matter was warranted. The Department of Commerce and Labor became in reality a Department of Commerce, and the agitation still continued until 1913, when another new department was created, the Department of Labor, with a secretary at its head, a secretary having the status that gave him the opportunity of being called into the councils of the President of the United States.

"In creating the new department four

bureaus were attached to it. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, as a matter of course, everybody recognizes properly belongs to the Department of Labor, although its title is a misnomer. It is not purely a bureau of labor statistics; it is more properly a bureau of labor information. The Bureau of Immigration was also attached to the new department, and there are many who wonder why a bureau of immigration should be attached to the Department of Labor. There are many people coming to our country who are not laborers, but the great bulk are laborers.

"Prior to the opening of the great war now going on in Europe we had coming into our country approximately 1,200,000 aliens annually. Most of those who came were people who had on the other side sold all of their little belongings and turned them into cash in order to raise sufficient funds to come to this country. When they came here they were not in a position to engage in the professions, not in a position to engage in business enterprises for themselves, not in a position to go out on our land and cultivate it. In the first place, they had not the means to acquire the land; in the second place, they had not the means to equip themselves to cultivate the land, and, in the third place, they had not the means to live upon the land until they could get a living thereon. The only thing they could do under the circumstances was to get into some kind of occupation where they could get quick even though meager returns for their labor. They therefore became the competitors not only of the native Americans and the naturalized Americans, but also of the other aliens who had preceded them into the United States. The question of immigration, becoming a great economic question, the administration of the immigration laws therefore properly belongs under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor.

"Then there is the Children's Bureau attached to the Department of Labor, and again the same question was asked: "Why attach a children's bureau to the Department of Labor? Other people have children a swell as workingmen?" And that is true, although my experience is that workingmen have a great many more children than those who are well-to-do. We had eleven children in our family, so I speak from experience. But it is the wage-workers—nay, the workers generally, whether the wage-workers or the workers on the farm—who need the collective influence, the collective power, the collective means of taking care of the children.

"Those who are well-to-do, those who are provided with sufficient means of their own to take care of their children, can furnish them with the finest of home surroundings, furnish them with splendid sanitary arrangements, the means of education, with outings when outings are required; but when it comes to the wage-workers individually they are unable to do so. The only way they can do so is through the collective functions of an association as represented in our government. And so the Children's Bureau is dealing with problems that are purely labor problems, and the bureau properly belongs to the Department of Labor.

"Then there is attached to the department the Naturalization Bureau, and for a very simple reason. No one can become a naturalized citizen of the United States who has not at some time been an immigrant into the United States, and as the Bureau of Immigration is in the Department of Labor, so the Bureau of Naturalization properly belongs there, because all the records of the admission of immigrants are in the department.

"Those four bureaus were attached, and then two other functions were attached—mediation in labor disputes and bringing the man and the job together. We have in the short period of the existence of the Department of Labor endeavored to develop those two functions. Of the three hundred labor disputes we have handled before they reached the strike stage 275 of them have been settled in a manner satisfactory to both employers and employes. In the work of bringing the man out of a job in touch with a job we have so developed the work that it cannot at any time be used as a strike-breaking machine. But the greatest of all functions—and I say it

without any personal reference to myself—the greatest of all functions of the department is that of carrying the hopes, the aspirations and the philosophy of the wage-workers of our country into the inner councils of the President of the United States.

"The great mass of work growing out of the Department of Labor, these great remedial measures having been placed upon the statute books of the various States and our Federal Government as the direct result of the organized labor movement of our country, it is a pleasure to me to have the opportunity of being here upon this platform this morning to welcome you here to the performance of your work and to bid you God-speed in the development of the different policies that will move to still greater advancement. I thank you."

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased our Supreme Ruler, who knoweth all things best and doeth all things well, to remove from our midst our brother member, Charles A. Taylor, who died on Monday, November 13, 1916. We mourn his loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Local No. 2, extend our deepest and sincere regret to the family, not to mention our own, for the loss of our brother member, Charles A. Taylor, he having been one of our most faithful and active members and who had served for many years as an officer, always working with an untiring effort for the good cause and welfare of our Union; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family of Charles A. Taylor, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication in our monthly journal, and a copy be spread upon the minutes of our next meeting, and that our charter of Local No. 2 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

MISS THERESA FISCHER,
FRANCIS HUNGERMAN,
HENRY C. KLOSS, *Fin. Sec'y*,
Committee

Thomas F. Tracy, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and the Second Vice-President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, died at his home in Washington, D. C., Saturday, November 4, 1916, after covering an illness of several months. Tom, as he was familiarly called by his friends, and they were numerous, both in and out of the labor movement, was known from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Lakes to the Gulf as a man of sterling qualities and an honest and diligent official as Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, which position he filled with credit and honor to himself and the organization, which he so ably represented. In the death of Tom Tracy the labor movement loses a strong advocate of trades unionism, and from close personal friendship with him for the past twenty years I have known him as a pioneer who died a veteran among the foremost workers in the trade union movement, being possessed of a keen mind and wide knowledge acquired through his long experience as a member and officer of the Cigarmakers' International Union and the general labor movement, and in his demise the Label Department has suffered an irreparable loss, for he had ilved and died a fighting militant for the cause of human rights and the betterment of his fellow workmen. I received a telegram from Mr. Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., requesting the presence of the members of the Executive Board of the Label Department to come to Washington, D. C., and pay our last respects to our departed Secretary. The members of the Board were the active pallbearers—John W. Hayes, First Vice-President; Jacob Fischer, Second Vice-President; Thomas A. Rickert, Third Vice-President; A. McAndrew, Fourth Vice-President; Matthew Woll, Fifth Vice-President, and Joseph Proebstle, Sixth Vice-President. The honorary pallbearers were members of Lodge No. 15 of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, who conducted services at the grave. In quoting the closing words of Mr. Gompers in his address at the grave, after the ceremony

of the Elks' Lodge, speaking of Mr. Tracy, he said: "No man had a more penetrating mind, was more devoted to principle, or more unflinching in his courage to what he knew was right, than Tom Tracy."

Good-bye, Tom. Requiescat in Pace.

A. McANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

THE LABELITE.

There's a moral in this poem,
You can find it if you try,
If at first you fail to see it
You will find it by and by.

You're a union man, I take it,
For you pay your union dues,
But, my friend, is there a label
Of a union in your shoes?

Do you see the union label
On tobacco that you buy?
Or upon your daily paper?
You can get one if you try.

Is a label in the pocket
Of the suit upon your back?
Is the label upon your collar—
Or a Chinese spider track?

Do you find the union label
In the sweat band of your hat?
Look and see if you can find it.
Did you ever think of that?

There's a moral in this poem,
You can find it if you try.
If at first you fail to see it—
Ask yourself the reason why.

Emm Arc.

SOME CURIOUS TAXES.

In the long history of England there have been numerous strange experiments in taxation. Henry VIII taxed beards, and graduated the tax according to the status of the wearer. Queen Elizabeth likewise fixed a tax on every beard of over a fortnight's growth. Elizabeth was also bent on making the country of a religious turn of mind, and all who stayed away from church on Sunday rendered themselves liable to a fine. In 1865 it was decided that the arrival of every child into the world should be taxed. The birth of a child to a Duke cost the proud but harassed father £30, while the advent of a commoner's child into the world was hailed by a tax of 2s.

With the advent of more constitutional days freak taxation did not cease. It was due to William Pitt that the window tax was instituted. In the reign of George I it was necessary to have a license to sell hats. Then there was the tax on hair powder and the tax on watches and clocks. In the reign of George III a duty of 2s 6d was imposed on bricks.

INJUNCTION JUDGE DENIES FREE PRESS.

CHICAGO, Dec. 9.—Judge Frederick Smith, of the Cook County Circuit Court, has shown how far injunction judges will go in their contempt for the State bill of rights and the Federal constitution by sentencing two striking workers to jail for 10 days and pay a fine of $100 and costs.

Jan Michalek and Stanley Kaszubski are malleable iron workers and were employed by the Illinois Malleable Iron Company. They, together with their fellows, organized a union and Michaelek was elected president and Kaszubski, secretary. The union called a strike to enforce higher wages and Judge Smith issued a sweeping injunction against them at the request of the company. The court now jails these two workingmen because they signed their names to the following announcement which was published in a Polish newspaper:

"To the Strikers of the Illinois Malleable Iron Co.:

"Strikers' meetings are held three times a week at night. At these meetings we have crowds of people. Strikers from the above concern have agreed to stay out on strike until the company will give in to their demands. We have made up our minds not to pay any attention to the company's chasers, who make all kinds of promises and draw men into the shops on account of these promises, because the scabs are cursing not only themselves but all others, and they claim they will strike again because they are being cheated by the company's foremen, and also because they did not receive the wages which the foremen promised them. These foremen

have promised gold apples on trees, and now the scabs are getting $1.61 per day, and they are required to give up money to the bosses.

"The committee informs the public in the name of the strikers to stay away from the struck shops, as this would harm us in the battle we have been fighting for weeks, because we are not only fighting for those who are striking, but also for those who are working there.

"We request all the workingmen to attend the meeting on Sunday, the 23rd inst., at 2 o'clock."

INJUNCTIONS DESTROY POWER OF ORGANIZATION.

As is indicated, the most urgent State legislative demand is for a law to regulate and limit the use of the injunctive process to protect wage-earners from perversion of anti-trust legislation to apply to associations of human beings.

One of the methods that employers have used to prevent workers from protecting themselves against oppression and from organizing to promote their interests is the theory that labor power is a commodity and therefore property. In accord with this theory hostile employers invoke anti-trust laws in order to restrain or destroy labor unions, and they have wrongfully used the writ of injunction to control the actions of workers and labor organizations and to deny workers courses of action to which they have constitutional and legal right. The injunction and anti-trust law proved a very pliable and disastrous weapon in the interest of labor exploiters.

When the labor sections of the Clayton anti-trust act were adopted it was no longer possible for employers to have the assistance of Fededal anti-trust laws in their industrial conflicts with employes. Accordingly their efforts have been transferred to State courts and the number of State injunctive proceedings in cases of industrial disturbances has increased tremendously during the past year. The workers realize that the very existence of organized labor is endangered unless they secure necessary protective legislation.—*President Gompers.*

THE KNOCKER.

I know he must be doing well,
I know he's getting on,
His work has now begun to tell,
His struggle time has gone;
He now has passed the dreary days,
The lonesome ones and grim,
And now is treading better ways
For folks are knocking him.

His skill has caught the eye of men,
His worth is seen at last,
He's left the throng that knew him when
His skies were overcast.
He's won the laurel and vim,
And he is doing real work now,
For folks are knocking him.

The Knocker is a curious cuss,
He never starts to whine
Or fling his envious shafts at us
Until our work is fine.
It's only men with skill to do
Real work he tries to block,
And so congratulations to
The man the knockers knock.

Detroit Free Press.

The labor movement is a down-on-the-earth bread-and-butter proposition calculated to benefit the membership now as well as in the future.

The battle of trade unionism is a battle for the home, for manhood and womanhood and a higher standard of civilization.

There are 2,580 daily papers in the United States with a combined daily circulation of 28,436,030 copies.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS

LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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of the

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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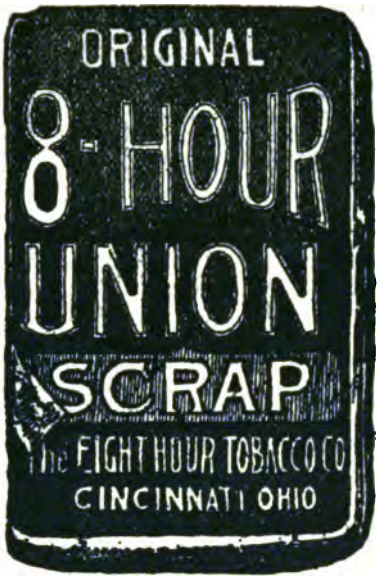


NOW ON SALE

For UNION MEN and Friends of Union Labor.

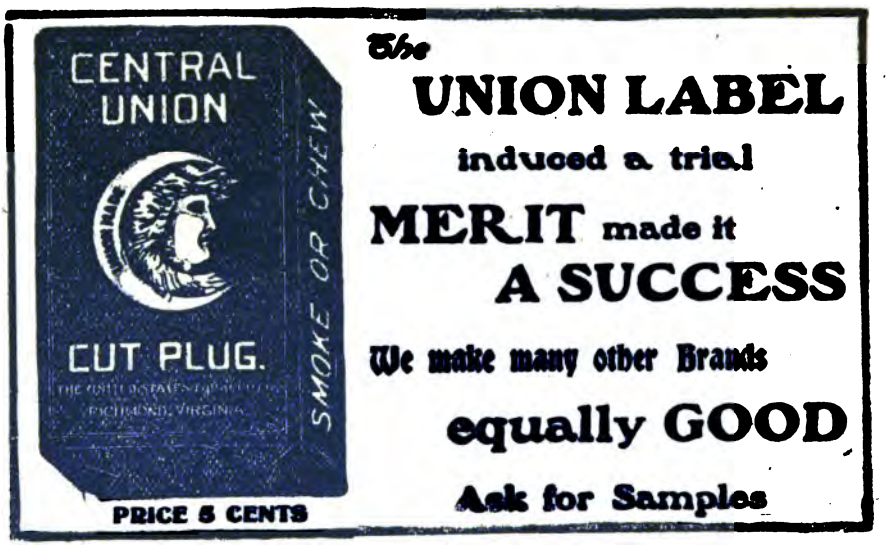
Made in Cincinnati and is the only factory in the country which has adopted the eight-hour working day.

THE
EIGHT-HOUR TOBACCO CO.

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL



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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

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THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

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The Tobacco Worker.

REPORT OF DELEGATE TO THE UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT, A. F. OF L.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—As an officer of the Union Label Trades Department and acting as your delegate to the convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore, Nov. 9, 1916, I hereby submit my report as follows:

The Ninth Annual Convention of the Union Label Trades Department was called to order at the Moose Club Auditorium at 10:00 a. m. Thursday morning, Nov. 9, 1916, by John Hays, President of the Department.

The Committee on Credentials reported that there were seventy-three delegates, representing thirty-one International Unions, and recommended that the same be seated.

The recent death of Thomas Tracey, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Department, who died at his home in Washington five days prior to the convening of the convention, cast a gloom over the entire assemblage. Thomas Tracey was known personally by every delegate attending this convention for his sterling qualities as a trade unionist and as an officer of the Department.

Delegate G. W. Perkins, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, moved that in view of the announcement made by President John Hays, of the death of Secretary Tracey, that a committee of five be appointed to draft suitable resolutions relative to the death of our late secretary, and respect to the memory of the secretary of the Department, the convention adjourned until Friday morning. The motion was adopted unanimously and the following committee appointed to draft suitable resolutions, namely, G. W. Perkins, J. J. Friel, Samuel Gompers, Matt Woll and John Tobin.

There were numerous resolutions adopted by the convention. One in particular, introduced by your delegate, which was adopted unanimously by the convention, is as follows:

"WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the Union Label is one of the most vital interests of the membership of our trade union movement, and by which we are enabled to help each other in discriminating between union and non-union made products when purchasing commodities for our daily needs, and

"WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, having a union label, is seeking a wider demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the Ninth Convention of the Union Label Trades Department, assembled in Baltimore, Md., that inasmuch as union labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of

the best qualities are marketed in parcels that come within the reach of all consumers, and easily accessible to all purchasers, they should receive a larger share of the purchasing power of union men and their friends; be it further

"*Resolved,* That it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates attending this convention that the practice of demanding the union label on our purchases has heretofore not given the results we have a right to expect. In view of this condition, we give a renewed expression of our fealty to our cause, and pledge our effort to creating a more extended demand for union labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, thereby employing union men and women working in the tobacco industry."

One other resolution, No. 6, presented by the United Garment Workers of North America, called the attention of the Department to the fact that Henry Sonneborn & Co., Manufacturers of Style Plus $17.00 clothing, were doing everything in their power to destroy the Clothing Cutters' Union in Baltimore, who were members of the United Garment Workers' Union affiliated with the Department and the A. F. of L., and that products of this firm were not worthy of the patronage of organized labor. In this respect Mr. Golden, of the Textile Workers' International Union, and myself acted in conjunction with P. Doyle, an officer of the United Garment Workers, by endeavoring to bring about an agreeable adjustment of the existing controversy between the United Garment Workers and the Stern-Crouse Co., of Baltimore. After several conferences the matter was brought to an amicable adjustment, satisfactory to both the Garment Workers and the Stern-Crouse Co., and reported to the American Federation of Labor.

The Auditing Committee reported that the total income of the Department for the year was $18,109.48, and the total expenses were $12,938.11, leaving a balance in the treasury of $5,171.37.

As had been the usual custom for years previous, representatives of the Department were assigned to address International Union conventions and State Federations, which were visited by officers of the Department. Your humble servant being one of those assigned for that purpose, urged the rank and file to purchase only products bearing the union label and to patronize only such stores that displayed the union shop card and button. Certificates of affiliation have been issued to a number of local label departments affiliated with Central Labor Bodies in numerous cities throughout the country during the past year, showing the progress of the Department in dealing with the label propaganda.

The report of the Executive Board was submitted as follows and adopted by the convention:

"SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

"Meeting of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, November 9, 1916.

"The President of the Department reported to the Board that the Secretary-Treasurer had been buried the day before, and that some matters would come before the Board that were not ordinarily under the functions of the Department.

"It was reported to the Executive Board that Secretary-Treasurer Tracey had been ill for many, many years, and because of that fact was not able to provide insurance for any family that he might leave. It was further reported that through the death of his wife shortly before his own death the family were left dependent entirely upon either Mr. Tracey or such resources as he might leave. Because of his unfortunate condition his resources were practically nothing.

"The Executive Board of the Union

e necessary protective legisla-
ident Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Label Trades Department authorize its officers to pay the funeral expenses, hospital bills and such other indebtedness as may be legitimately attached to the last illness and death of Secretary-Treasurer Thomas F. Tracey.

"In addition to this the Executive Board recommends that the Department take under consideration the only source of revenue which his family had to depend upon, that being the salary of Mr. Tracey from the Union Label Trades Department.

"The Executive Board therefore recommends that Mr. Tracey's salary be continued to March 1, 1917, and that the amount involved be paid to some member of the family of Mr. Tracey in such sums and at such times as the Executive Board may deem wise.

"From information that reaches the members of the Executive Board, it is evident that there is doubt in the minds of the members of some of the affiliated organizations as to the advisability of continuing this Union Label Trades Department.

"Because of the untimely death of Secretary-Treasurer Tracey and the apparent difficulties involved in securing the service of an efficient official for this position, one who would command the full co-operation of all international unions, it has been suggested to the Board that the election of the Secretary-Treasurer be withheld for one year, and that in the interim the Executive Board be empowered to appoint some one to perform the duties of the office, thus allowing sufficient time for the organizations affiliated with the Department to give consideration to this question.

"The Board submits this suggestion to the convention without recommendation.

"Respectfully submitted,

"J. W. HAYS,
"JACOB FISCHER,
"T. A. RICKERT,
"A. MCANDREW,
"MATTHEW WOLL,
"JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
"Executive Board."

The officers who were returned to office are as follows: President—John W. Hays, Typographical Union; First Viec-President—Jacob Fischer, Barbers' International Union; Second Vice-President—T. A. Rickert, United Garment Workers' International Union; Third Vice-President—A. McAndrew, Tobacco Workers' International Union; Fourth Vice-President—Joseph Proebstle, United Brewery Workers' International Union, and Fifth Vice-President—Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers' International Union.

The election of a Secretary-Treasurer was left in the hands of the Executive Board by the adoption of the Supplemental Report of the convention.

There being no further business before the convention, upon motion, it was adjourned, to meet at the call of the President.

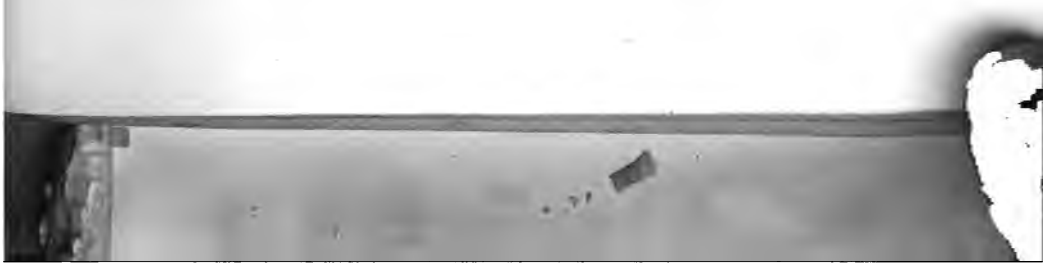
Respectfully submitted,
A. MCANDREW, *Pres't.*

REPORT OF DELEGATE TO THIRTY-SIXTH CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Fellow Workers:

GREETING—As the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned, there passed into history one of the greatest chapters of the history of our movement that has yet been written. This must have been indelibly impressed upon the minds of all the delegates attending, and all must have returned to their homes reinvigorated with the inspirations he or she must have gathered.

Conclusions reached, and new thoughts for the reasoning out of the many perplexing questions at issue were many, and of the utmost importance to our ever expanding movement for the most thorough organization of the workers into the Trade Unions of their respective crafts and callings.



During the convention, the press amused itself by presenting misleading reports of the proceedings, garbling seemed to have a special inning by some of the editors of the big dailies, and an effort was made to be as contrary and misleading as possible, throwing cracked ice with a goodly portion of salt mixed in upon the rights of Labor as defended upon the floor of the convention.

These cold baths, however, had the opposite effect for which they were intended and seemed to stimulate rather than deter the defenders of the faith in the inalienable rights of Labor.

The billionaires had an inning about the same time and organized a fighting machine backed by $8,000,000,000, embracing some 15,000 employers, who employed, it is stated, about 8,000,000 employes. "Some machine," but will not have any effect on Labor's forces, other than to urge them to greater things. Labor has always thriven best under pressure; it seems to have a concentrating effect rather than otherwise.

The convention was opened with the usual addresses of welcome by the State and city officials of the State Federation of Labor and the Baltimore Central Body. President Gompers responded to the addresses in his usual eloquent style.

The Credential Committee reported 396 delegates, representing ninety-six International Unions, twenty-six State Federations, sixty-eight Central Bodies, thirty-seven Federal Labor Unions; and nine fraternal delegates, representing the British Trades Union Congress, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the National Women's Trades Union League, the Women's International Label League, the Farmers' National Congress, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, the Friendly Societies of Japan (term used for the Labor Movement in Japan), and the Labor Movement of Mexico.

In the report of Secretary Morrison, it is indeed pleasing to note that the membership at the close of the year was 2,072,702, an increase of 126,355 during the year. The financial report was interesting, in that it showed a gain over last year of a substantial sum. During the year the A. F. of L. Building had been erected and furnished at a cost of between $160,000 and $170,000. It is indeed a credit to the movement and establishes a home that we can all look toward with pardonable pride.

Addresses made by the fraternal delegates were stirring and inspiring, being full of information and giving the effect that a great force for the betterment of Labor, in an International sense, was driving its way through the trials and difficulties which beset Labor in its uplift movement. Each, of course, had certain difficulties peculiar to their own environments, but on the whole were quite similar in their general effect.

Of the 171 resolutions introduced, fifty-eight were referred to the Executive Council, as they were on the subjects requiring investigation before final action could be taken. The subject embraced in fifty-two resolutions were adopted with some minor amendments, no investigation being called for; twenty-nine resolutions met non-concurrence at the hands of the convention; seven more on subjects already covered needed no action; eight others affecting pending agreement adjustments, now in the hands of the Executive Council; the remaining seventeen were combined in committee with others of similar character. Resolution No. 95, introduced by your delegate and adopted, is as follows:

"WHEREAS, It is an assured fact that the Union Label is one of the most potent factors for the advancement of the most vital interests of the membership of our trade-union movement, and by which we are enabled to help each other in discriminating between union and non-union made products when purchasing commodities for our daily needs; and

necessary protective legisla-
nt Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

"WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, having a union label, is seeking a wider demand for tobacco, cigarettes and snuff bearing the union label; therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That it is the sense of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Baltimore, Md., that inasmuch as union-labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff of the best qualities are marketed in parcels that come within the reach of all consumers, and easily accessible to all purchasers, they should receive a larger share of the purchasing power of union men and their friends; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That it is the consensus of opinion of the delegates attending this convention that the practice of demanding the union label on our purchases has heretofore not given the results we have a right to expect. In view of this condition we give a renewed expression of our fealty to our cause, and pledge our effort to creating a more extended demand for union-labeled tobaccos, cigarettes and snuff, thereby employing union men and women working in the tobacco industry."

The Executive Council submitted an exhaustive report covering every phase of our great movement, each subject being titled as they were treated. This is a report that every member should get and become familiar with, there being a vast number of subjects that come into close and important relation with Labor's most vital interests. The various subjects treated in the report were referred to the appropriate committees who reported on them during the session.

One pleasing feature of the convention was the affiliation of the Bricklayers with the American Federation of Labor, the negotiations having been pending for a number of years and the question repeatedly submitted for a referendum vote of the membership of the Bricklayers had met defeat several times, but this year the matter was again submitted and favorably reported on. This matter came in time for the issuance of a charter from the A. F. of L., to come within the constitutional limit permitting representation at the Baltimore convention. The Bricklayers' delegation were congratulated upon their affiliation by the delegates present.

The convention having decided to go to Washington in a body to pay their respect to the President, President Gompers announced that arrangements had been made whereby President Wilson would greet the delegates at 5:00 p. m. Saturday, November 18th, and that a special train would leave Baltimore at noon. On arrival at Washington, the delegates marched to the new A. F. of L. Office Building, where a group picture was taken with the building as the background. The delegates marched from this point to the East room of the Whitehouse, and there, were introduced by President Gompers to President Wilson.

In introducing the delegation, President Gompers delivered the following address, and President Wilson responded in the delivery of the following address, at the close of which each delegate passed in line and received a good hearty handshake by President Wilson:

"*Mr. President:* The ladies and gentlemen who are here are delegates and friends of the American Federation of Labor now holding its thirty-sixth annual convention at Baltimore, Maryland.

"Four days ago without any prearrangement of any kind a delegate arose and offered a motion in very simple language that on Saturday the convention take a recess, proceed to Washington, call upon you, sir, and pay our individual and collective respects to you as a man and as President of the United States. It would be difficult for me to express the spirit that prompted the adoption of that motion to come here.

"The American Federation of Labor is an association of voluntarily organized workers of America. It is a wage-

earners' movement. It is a movement for the purpose of trying to bring light into the lives of the workers, primarily, to endeavor to be helpful to them, conscious of the fact that any improvement in the material, moral and social conditions of the workers must itself tend toward the uplift of all people of our country and make more stable our beloved republic.

"Our movement stands for the principles of righteousness, justice and freedom, and is striving to attain the highest ideals of humanity. We have come to recognize in you, sir, a man who stands for these fundamental principles. We have taken joy into our hearts to be helpful in upholding your hands in the splendid, masterful work which you have undertaken and have accomplished.

"Achievement is a great triumph to a man's work, but after all achievement is not the ultimate. It is that which a man would do and honestly tries to do which is the essence of it all, for there are many who try honestly and achieve but little. But every effort put forth is an indication of the man of courage and righteousness and the right spirit.

"Believe me, sir, these men and these women come to you in no partisan spirit. There are men and women of different political parties and beliefs in the American Federation of Labor, but there is a unanimity of purpose and spirit. They recognize that they are in communion with you in the great fight you have made for the right.

"We come to you not only in the great respect we hold for you, but also in the great confidence we have in you. The congratulations which we tender you we express by the hope that your administration for the coming four years, after the expiration of your present term, may be full with the meat of achievement in the interest of the great masses of our people. To you and your beloved wife and to all who concern you we wish health, success and a long, long life for future usefulness."

RESPONSE OF PRESIDENT WILSON.

"*Mr. Gompers, Ladies and Gentlemen:* I need not say that, coming to me as you do on such an errand, I am very deeply gratified and very greatly cheered. It would be impossible for me off-hand to say just what thoughts are stirred in me by what Mr. Gompers has said to me as your spokesman, but perhaps the simplest thing I can say is, after all, the meat of the whole matter. What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country, not only, but of any class consciousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there were men and women who thought that they were at odds at one another, that the spirit of America was not expressed in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to.

"As Mr. Gompers said, achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing, and what I am striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded upon this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort, and that if we do not understand each other, we are not true Americans. If we cannot enter into each other's thoughts, if we cannot comprehend each other's interests, if we cannot serve each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit.

"Nothing alarms America so much as rifts, divisions, the drifting apart of elements among her people, and the thing we ought all to strive for is to close up every rift, and the only way to do it, as far as I can see, is to establish justice not only, but justice with a heart in it,

necessary protective legisla-
dent Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it. Justice can be cold and forbidding or it can be warm and welcome, and the latter is the only kind of justice that Americans ought to desire. I do not believe I am deceiving myself when I say that I think this spirit is growing in America. I pray God it may continue to grow, and all I have to say is to exhort every one whom my voice reaches here or elsewhere to come into this common movement of humanity."

President Gompers having invited the chief executives of the railroad brotherhoods, who were in Washington, to address the convention, announced their presence and introduced them in the following order: Messrs. Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Locomotive Engineers; L. E. Sheppard, of the Order of Railroad Conductors; W. S. Carter, of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and W. G. Lee, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Each one addressed the convention, presenting their position in the present railroad controversy and their position with relation to the recently adopted Adamson Act. Reference was also made with regard to their future affiliation with the A. F. of L.

President Gompers, in responding, stated, that he hoped earnestly for a time when the railroad brotherhoods would all be affiliated with the A. F. of L., and among other things delivered the following, the favorable acceptance of which will be long remembered when reference is made to the Baltimore convention:

"Now, without attempting at this time to discuss the Adamson Law—the eight-hour law—it is exceedingly peculiar that those who antagonize the law predicate their action upon the statement that it is not an eight-hour law. Since when have these railroad magnates, or their lawyers, been the advocates of an eight-hour work-day?

"Men of the railroad brotherhoods, just this one remark to you: We expect that the railroad brotherhoods will, on the first of January, inaugurate the eight-hour work-day, and I think I can truly say to you that whatever may arise, whatever betide, you have the undivided support of every man and every woman in the organized labor movement as represented in the American Federation of Labor. When the money power of the United States failed in trying to corrupt the electorate of the United States and to mislead them, when their well-laid plans were frustrated by the citizenship of the United States, they showed their colors and they met, quite a number of them, and then they gave to the public the declaration that they were going to antagonize every effort put forth by organized labor; that they would fight us industrially, politically and legislatively—I need not say that judicially they already have done so—that they represent eight billions of dollars; that there were 15,000 employers; that they employed about seven million working people, and that they were going to use every instrumentality within their power in order to balk, defeat or undo the work of the American labor movement.

"Now, that is their right so long as they own the money; so long as they hold that position, they have a right to antagonize our movement, notwithstanding the fact that our movement stands for manhood, for womanhood, for childhood, as against their billions of dollars. I say to you it is their lawful right to make the fight against us, and all I can say in answer is: 'You men of wealth, be careful how far you go, for there is a limit to human endurance. You throw down the gauntlet and we will accept the challenge!' And when it comes we will quote from the greatest bard the world ever had—'Lay on, Macduff; and damned be he who first cries, "Hold! Enough!"'

"Men, you executives of the railroad brotherhoods, you may count upon the men of labor in this land of ours. You

Continued on page 9

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

We must never forget and ever retain in mind that the right of labor to organize is an inherent right of all those who would be a free people. The right of labor to combine for its own protection is indisputable and justifiable under any government where the elements of justice obtain.

We have with us in our country an element who are enjoying the fruits of combined effort through the combination of immense wealth and power, but who use every means known to human genius to prevent labor from organizing, having gone so far as to exert an influence with the courts to prevent the successful issue of organizing campaigns. Rights under the law seemingly is no bar to the repressions imposed upon the workers seeking their natural and God-given rights under the law; any means of prevention justifies the end sought. They know from experience the power and influence flowing from organized and centralized effort, and they live in mortal fear that if labor should be allowed to organize, the illegal and usurped privileges would become a thing of the sorrowing past. They enjoy them now by the right given by might, but they know that if labor should come into a position of talking through a centralized effort these unholy privileges would melt like the snow in the springtime. In one State they have gone so far as to penalize the organization of workers, declaring through the courts that organization of labor is outlawry and may not be prosecuted. One case being fought through the courts is now on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The prosecutors must know that their case against labor organizing will have little standing in the court appealed to, but it shows to what lengths the enemies and oppressors of labor will go in order to attain their selfish, greedy ends.

Predatory wealth, in its search for more plunder, knows no lines of legal limit; their limit is circumscribed only by the length to which their ability and capacity to over-ride all obstacles, laws or human right, when in the way, are not noticed: there is no compunction in riding them down so long as the ends sought are accomplished. With all the illegal obstacles that have been thrown in the way of organizing the workers, labor has gone on with its noble work, overcoming hinderances, setting aside what seemed to be mountains, going on, on and on with each lap of the track;

necessary protective legisla-
dent Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

power has been added to the movement, and the bitter conflicts have given a knowledge of worth and value to what has been accomplished. The growth has been at times painfully slow, but of that healthy kind that shows that the education upon which the movement has been built has become deep-rooted and carries with it a confidence and conviction of right that knows no turning back. "Onward" is the slogan.

The call of labor to organize, as a rule, is not a direct response merely to the clamor of the spellbinder and earnest work of the field organizers. These two elements are necessary to the awakening of sleeping elements of the human mind to the further awakening of the subconsciousness which most of us possess. Many times do we hear our field forces speaking of the failures of their most earnest work, lamenting the seeming fact that those to whom they spoke and appealed most earnestly were dead to all appeal. There is no questioning the fact, the results of sometimes the hardest work of the field force are in visible face value most disappointing, and the commercial term of good on this or that trip cannot be measured and credited to the account of this or that member of the field force, as there is no visible evidence of value to be credited. But that there is a value to the work done in awakening the sub-consciousness of some of the workers in the industries appealed to is beyond dispute, and is evidenced by what later happens—the sleepy mind of the toiler deadened by the continual conflict with his environments, in its semi-conscious condition, is suddenly jolted into action by an extra oppression imposed by the boss, and begins to piece together incidents of his unorganized condition and compares the condition of the organized workers with his own. When this condition is reached in a worker, he is beginning to think, and think earnestly; the weaving of his web has begun; he puts in as different colors the incidents affecting his life; the word pictures in the appeals of the organizers begin to appeal to him in a new light; a realization of his mental attitude toward his condition in the past comes to him with a new force; he talks with his fellow-workers of the position they are in and the leaven spreads through the whole batch of dough, awakening the latent forces into a condition of activity; an organizer is sent for—perhaps the one who complained most bitterly is the one sent—and he sees the fruition of the seeds he sowed many months before. He recites his feelings to the newly awakened and organized, both of them feeling happy at the final outcome and both profiting thereby.

Bread thrown on the waters comes back after many days.

REPORT OF DELEGATE, A. F. OF L.

Continued from page 7

will find that we will ring true and stand true."

Resolution No. 142, having reference to the introducing of military training in our schools, brought up a subject that was uppermost in the minds of the delegates of the convention. The resolution is as follows:

"Resolution No. 142—By delegate of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

"WHEREAS, The Secretary of War has communicated with public school authorities in various parts of this country inquiring if they were willing to introduce military training of the boys in the schools, and stating that the War Department would provide instructors and rifles and ammunition; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is utterly opposed to militarism; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That this convention protest

against the action of the Secretary of War, and hereby instructs the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to request President Wilson to prevent any further attempt to militarize the public schools."

The Committee on Resolutions reported adversely on the resolution which brought up a very long discussion. The resolution was finally adopted, but the general opinion was, that the resolution did not cover the question of militarism, and to help the question and deal with it from a broad viewpoint, a motion made to appoint a special committee who could prepare a report properly caring for the question was adopted.

President Gompers then appointed as the committee Delegates Wm. Green, John Frey, Charles L. Baine, Matthew Woll, Andrew A. Hill, John Murray and Paul Scharrenberg. Charles L. Baine having been called away from the convention, Collis Lovely was appointed in his place.

Toward the close of the convention a committee submitted the following report on this all-absorbing subject. The report was adopted by a unanimous vote as voicing the sentiment of the convention:

"REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM.

"Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

"Complying with the instructions of this convention, your special committee, upon the subject of 'Militarism,' submits the following declarations:

"We are unalterably and emphatically opposed to 'militarism,' that system fostered and developed by tyrants with the object of supporting their arbitrary authority and utilized by those whose predatory designs or ambitions for power and worldly glory lead them to invade and subdue other nations, destroying their liberties, acquiring their wealth and fastening the yoke of bondage upon them.

"The American trade union movement is convinced by the experience of mankind that 'militarism,' even in its less horrid manifestations, brutalizes those influenced by the spirit of the institution. Under the baleful thrall of the savage instincts which it arouses, the finer elements of humanity are strangled. Under 'militarism' a pseudo-patriotism is established in the minds of the people wherein men believe that there is nobility and heroism in dying for the glory of a dynasty, or the maintenance of institutions which are inimical to human progress and democratic institutions. 'Militarism' is the appeal of arbitrary and irresponsible force as opposed to reason and justice.

"Resistance to injustice and tyranny is that virile quality which has given purpose and effect to ennobling causes in all countries and at all times. The institutions of our country and the freedom won by its founders would have been impossible had they been unwilling to die in defense of their liberties. Only a people willing to maintain their rights and defend their liberties are guaranteed free institutions. Conditions foreign to the institutions of our country have prevented the entire abolition of organized bodies of men trained to carry arms. A citizen soldiery supplies what would otherwise take its place, a large standing army—to which we are unalterably opposed as tending to establish 'militarism' in all of its phases. Large standing armies threaten the existence of civil liberty. The history of every nation demonstrates that as standing armies are enlarged, the rule of democracy is lessened or extinguished. Our experience has been that even this citizen soldiery, the militia of our several states has given cause for gravest apprehension. At times their ranks have been recruited from professional thugs, criminals and other employes of corporations involved in conflict with workmen, who are endeav-

secure necessary protective legisla-
—*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

oring to protect their rights and interests and elevate their standards of living.

"During industrial disputes the militia has been called upon to support the authority of those who have desired to enforce martial law, while the courts were open and civil authorities competent to maintain the supremacy of civil law.

"We desire that the militia of our several states should be organized and controlled by the democratic institutions of our country, so that this voluntary force of citizen soldiery may never be diverted from its true purpose to be used to jeopardize or infringe upon the liberties of our people.

"The right to bear arms is a fundamental principle of our government, a principle regarded at all times by free people as essential to the maintenance of their liberties and institutions. We demand that this right shall remain inviolate.

"Unquestionably the perpetuity of our ideals of government and the maintenance of our free institutions depend largely upon the character of training received by the youth of today—the citizens of tomorrow. While demanding that our public schools shall so teach our children as to develop keen, ready minds, and inspire them with high and lofty ideals fully prepared to intelligently exercise the duties and responsibility of a free people, we also demand that the body of every child be so trained in our schools as to develop them into full manhood and womanhood. We likewise insist that the youth of today—the worker of tomorrow, be so trained as to take his place in our institutions fully equipped and prepared to protect his rights as a worker and to properly exercise his influence in our economic and industrial life.

"We are, however, unalterably opposed to any form of physical training or any quality of mental education, which would tend to inculcate the spirit of 'militarism.' The child's immature and impressionable mind must not be taught to think, except with horror, upon the killing of human beings. To arouse the thought that any of their school hours are devoted to preparation for the possible use of arms against their fellow men, is to brutalize their instincts and subvert the influence of the necessary lessons of humanity, peace and good will, which it is the duty of our public schools to impress upon them.

"These are the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor declares its position.

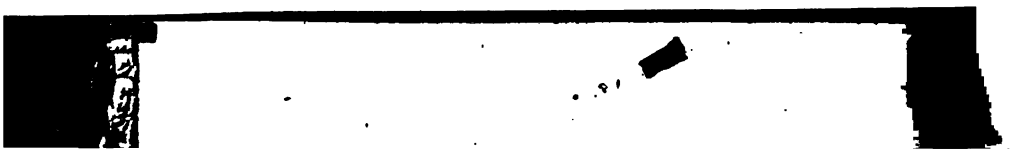
"Respectfully submitted,

"WILLIAM GREEN, Chairman;
"MATTHEW WOLL,
"PAUL SCHARRENBERG,
"JOHN MURRAY,
"COLLIS LOVELY,
"ANDREW A. HILL,
"JOHN P. FREY, Secretary.

"Your committee also recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee of five, the President acting as chairman, which will gather data, hear evidence, record and publish the same, and report at such time and in such manner as it deems best to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, upon the question of militarism."

In accordance with a motion adopted, making the election of officers a special order at 2:30 p. m. Saturday, President Gompers called former Vice-President John Mitchell to the chair who called for the nomination for President. Delegate Perkins nominated Samuel Gompers, who was elected by acclamation. Delegate Perkins then arose and in a short speech unveiled and presented to President Gompers a life-like bronze bust of himself, which was the handiwork of a Chicago sculptress, a Miss Kathleen Wheeler.

President Gompers made a short address of acceptance expressing his gratitude and appreciation of the spirit in which it was given, manifesting as it did



the recognition of a service he had been able to give for the uplift of his fellowmen, and he asked that the gift be considered as a gift to the American Federation of Labor, and that a place be found for it in the new A. F. of L. Building.

President Gompers then resumed the chair. The rest of the officers were all elected by acclamation as follows: First Vice-President, James Duncan; Second Vice-President, James O'Connel; Third Vice-President, D. A. Hayes; Fourth Vice-President, Joseph Valentine; Fifth Vice-President, John R. Alpine; Sixth Vice-President, H. B. Perham; Seventh Vice-President, Frank Duffy; Eighth Vice-President, Wm. Green; Treasurer, John B. Lennon, and Secretary, Frank Morrison.

Fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress were elected as follows: John Golden, of the Textile Workers, and Frank Farrington, of the United Mine Workers. Delegate Emanuel Koveleskl, of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes, was elected to represent the A. F. of L. in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Some speculation as to the choice of the city in which the next convention would be held was indulged in. Buffalo, N. Y., and Fort Worth, Tex., were hot rivals. However, Buffalo won the honor by a fair lead.

The Committee on International Relations submitted a most interesting report touching upon the conditions of labor in the countries across the sea, and as they are now affected by the European war, urged that preparations be made for the aftermath in the guardianship of Labor's rights.

The Mexican troubles and Labor's position in it were referred to at length. An effort was being made to form a Pan-American Federation of Labor, embracing the countries on the American continent, the hope being that the work of the organization of labor may be stimulated and federated into one great and effective plan for Labor's good.

Carlos Loveria, Chief of the Department of Labor, of Yucatan, Mexico, being present, gave an interesting study of his travels over the South American Republics in the interest of Labor. He stated that Labor was organizing and was in various stages of effectiveness. However, a practical and serviceable movement was well under way in the places he is able to visit.

The Committee on International Relations dealt with many other international questions affecting Labor's most vital interests.

The Cigarmakers' delegation submitted the following memorial for Thomas F. Tracey, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department, who died just a few days before the opening of the convention. The memorial was adopted and ordered suitably engraved and framed and presented to the children of Thomas F. and Mrs. Tracey, the latter having died about a year before her husband. The memorial is as follows:

"THOMAS F. TRACEY MEMORIAL.

"The death of Thomas F. Tracey, which occurred November, 1916, removed from the councils of the labor movement a staunch trade unionist. When the organizations of labor were weak in numbers and influence it required courage and determination to become identified with the trade union movement. It was then that the mettle of men's souls became the distinguishing mark. The qualities and attributes that drew Thomas F. Tracey into the labor movement represent the faith, the courage and the vision that are the essentials upon which the trade union movement has been founded.

"Thomas F. Tracey gave years of efficient service and devotion to the cause of labor—both to the organization of his own trade and to the general movement. When his work for his local union demonstrated his ability to plan and to accomplish constructive betterment for

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President Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

his fellow-workers, he was called to larger service, first, for those of his trade and then for those of all trades—for all workers. For many years he served as Second Vice-President of the Cigarmakers' International Union, as legislative committeeman of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer of the Union Label Trades Department.

"The constructive work he accomplished while occupying these positions of trust and responsibility was possibly because of his keen appreciation of the injustice inflicted upon the toilers, his realization of the magnitude of the struggle to secure economic justice and his abiding faith in the destiny of the labor movement and his vision of a better life for all.

He held that the economic organizations of wage-earners are the fundamental agencies through which betterment and justice can be secured for the workers, and he was unyielding in his opposition to efforts to divert the workers to other policies. Although deprived of health and rugged strength he devoted his full physical and mental power to the movement to alleviate the sufferings of others and to remove the causes of injustice.

"Ever mindful of the rights of others, he gave the best that was in him that they might be secured and preserved with inflexible fidelity to every trust imposed on him; he lived the life of an upright trade unionist, and the memory of his devotion to the cause of humanity serves as an inspiration to those who knew him. He exemplified the constructive character building which is the essence of our movement and which it fosters.

"Thomas F. Tracey was one of the builders of the trade union movement of

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Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

America. While his death removes him from amongt the active workers for the cause of humanity, yet that which he accomplished in life will live in the benignant influences brought into the lives of millions of wage-earners.

"Those of us who knew Thomas F. Tracey have the influence and the memory of a kindly, courteous man, whose sympathy was helpful because directed by understanding and intelligence; who endured physical suffering with fortitude, who fought for the right as he saw it with unswerving faith, and who gave to his friends and the cause of labor loyalty and honest service.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"J. W. PERKINS,
"W. A. CAMPBELL,
"J. MAHLON BARNES,
"PHIL. H. MUELLER."

The committees all finished up their reports, and President Gompers made an appropriate closing address.

The convention adjourned at 7:00 p. m., with the delegates singing "Auld Lang Syne."

Respectfully submitted,
E. LEWIS EVANS.

THE DOCTORS' UNION.

The Physicians and Surgeons' Union in Ashtabula, O., called a meeting of the order, and resolved that on and after January 1, 1917, the price of office calls shall be $1.00, physical examination $3.00 to $5.00, prescriptions 75 cents, advice over the phone 50 cents, visits in the city $2.00, night visits $3.00, normal delivery, including two subsequent visits, $15.00, consultation $3.00 to $5.00, and of course it is not a question for arbitration, it is a public pill the people may take or suffer the consequences.

If it were a labor organization, the next State Legislature would doubtless be confronted with petitions to make them submit to compulsory arbitration, but the doctors have the best of it—their organization obtained a law driving all the scab medicine mongers out of the State.

What a difference there is in whose ox is gored!

One of the best forms of discipline is the labor union, and this is increasingly

secure necessary protective legisla-
—*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

true. It used to be regarded as an engine of revolt, of defiance, of agitation and disturbance. But now nothing is finer than the self-control of most of the men who lead thought and action in the labor movement. More and more the labor unions seek not only to promote wise reforms, but to suppress unwise or untimely agitation.—*Ex.*

REAL PREPAREDNESS.

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 20.—Editor Scharrenberg of the *Coast Seamen's Journal* calls attention to the affirmation by the last seamen's convention of the principle of low initiation fees and high dues.

"Labor organizations that try to maintain themselves," says this paper, "on low dues and high initiation fees are ineffective and impotent to carry out the requirements of the present-day industrial struggle, and the sooner the members of our unions dealize this the better. For when the history of the world's labor movement is analyzed, it will be found that the unions with high dues have been the most successful in increasing wages, shortening hours and generally improving conditions for their members."

Just a word: Remember the Little Blue Label.

GREETINGS FOR 1917.

If the storm has been tossing you sadly,
And your plans have been wreck'd by the blast;
If your day has been saddened and darken'd,
And the future looks black like the past,
Remember, there's roses and sunshine,
That will spring bright and gay from the gloom,
For as sure as there's snow in December,
The primrose will bloom before June.
There's always some joy and some shadow,
In life as we journey it through,
There are times when the struggle seems worthless,
There are seasons of merriment too.
So list to the Bells of old Christmas,
That ring with a note ever true,
And bid your heart stir to the music,
That is old, yet forever new.

ANTI-STRIKE STATUTE INTRODUCED IN HOUSE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—Congressman Adamson, Chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, has introduced a bill that includes every "can't-strike" feature of the Canadian

STRONGHOLD
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PLUG TOBACCO
Scotten Dillon Company

industrial disputes investigation act, which has been denounced by Dominion trade unionists.

The only exception is that the Canadian act applies to all public utilities, while Congressman Adamson's proposal refers to common carriers, although his term is used in such a manner that courts would undoubtedly extend its application.

The bill provides that where the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation fails to adjust a dispute the President shall appoint a board of inquiry to whom the controversy shall be referred. A report must be made within three months.

Pending these efforts and for 30 days thereafter, it shall be unlawful for employes to strike or employers to cause or declare a lockout. This means that workers are prohibited from striking for four months. If an employe violates this section he is liable to a fine of $1,000 or a year's imprisonment, or both.

Congressman Adamson would not only handcuff workers to their jobs during these four months, but he would empower courts to sit in judgment over the acts of other citizens and a free press and free speech. Section 13, of the proposed law, says:

"And persons inciting, encouraging or in any manner aiding any employer or employe to violate this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdeameanor and upon conviction shall be subject to the same punishment as the employer or employe, as the case may be."

Opportunity is just ahead of you. If you do not see it, the man behind you will.

No one has a monopoly of the making of keys to the doors of success.—*Evening Ledger.*

Ideas are the only conquerors whose work lasts.—*Maximilian Harden.*

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS

LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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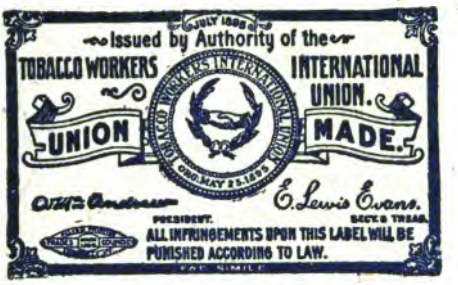

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REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

The
UNION LABEL
induced a trial
MERIT made it
A SUCCESS
We make many other Brands
equally GOOD
Ask for Samples

secure necessary protective legislation.—*President Gompers.*

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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

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Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG.

There's something wrong when a few can feast
On viands dainty and vintage red.
When many shiver by fireless hearths,
And clamorous thousands cry for bread.

There's something wrong when the rich can wear
Silks and laces and jewels fine;
While the poor to rags and to husks are heir,
And feed as the prodigal did—with swine!

There's something wrong when a few can dwell
In mansions of marble carven fair,
While housed in hovels with rotting roofs
The toilers struggle with life's despair!

There's something wrong when the children spin
Their small lives into the thread they make;
Or weave their hopes by the shuttle's din
Till the small hands ache and the small hearts break!

Arthur Goodenough.

THE ART OF "CATCHING ON."

Like Men, Some Unions Miss Golden Opportunities By Refusal To Grasp Good Things As They Pass.

For a quarter of a century the writer has been associated with the work of organizing the butcher workmen, which has necessarily brought him in close touch with the rank and file of the entire movement, and our experience in that line reminds us of an article that went the rounds of the press some thirty years ago, which applies to the various members and locals of butcher workmen which go to make up the international body. The article was headed "Catching On," and runs something like this:

"Here Comes a Farmer!"

"The old-fashioned bells, deep, rich and mellow, are ringing away out King Street, and the boys—yes—the girls, get ready to catch on. And they generally succeed. No matter how fast the sleigh may be moving, a number catch on and the rest miss it or are left sprawling in the discolored snow. Catching on is an art. Some people never learn it; they never 'catch on.' They can't catch on. The sleigh would have to stop dead before they could get on and then they would do it awkwardly. Others would catch on if it were going at a 2:30 clip. Some people can cut a corner; others can't; they have got to go around the angle if it takes them all day. When I look about me at the successful or famous men that I know I am impressed by the fact that they caught on. Some of them had many a hard tumble, and many have plowed the snow or dirt with their noses, but that didn't discourage them—they caught on to the next thing that came

along. I am going to a funeral tomorrow —that of a man who was always in misfortune and who died in poverty.

"I hope he'll get across the dark river all right, but I doubt it. He will either miss the ferry or get on the wrong boat or fall overboard and get drowned. He never could get home from here to Jerico Junction without breaking something or getting lost or held up or tumbled into the ditch. Unless the golden chariot stops for him he will get left, for he never could catch on."

And the same is true of the labor movement. Many local unions that we have helped to organize have started out with bright prospects and the possibilities of securing greatly improved conditions; but, unfortunately, among them would be a few who could not catch on. The world seemed a dark and dreary place to live because they failed to find the deed of a house and lot in their next mail after investing a dollar as an initiation fee with the local union; they shout, "What does the union amount to?" They have failed to catch on, failed to understand that the trade union movement is one of education and slow growth, and takes years of patient service to secure results. Another local union will go on for a time successfully, and then run up against some trouble that brings on a strike or a lockout. They make a fight for what they believe as their rights, and in the end are beaten, compelled to go back to work under old conditions, some perhaps blacklisted and cannot get back at all. They who have failed to catch on—in fact, have plowed the snow with their noses, and some of the cuticle has been rudely removed—and they, too, shout failure, and in many instances imitate the small boy who has failed to catch on, shouts "whip behind" in order to get back at the more fortunate one who, by virtue of his push and vim, secured a seat on the passing vehicle.

Now, gentlemen, think it over. Is your local union among those who have failed to catch on? Are you among those who are continually appealing to the balance of the organization for help for some one to come and do the work you should do yourself? If so, decide that from now on you will make a determined effort to catch on and secure the best seat on the band wagon and ride on successfully to industrial freedom. It can be done.—*The Butcher Workman.*

The next time I go into a store for a purchase, I will ask for the union label.

HOLD YOURSELVES WELL IN HAND.

All the predatory forces that menace the welfare of wage earners do not come from employers. There exists among the workers and in the labor movement an element which is either misguided or is so depraved that it is willing to lead workers into unnecessary suffering and useless misery.

There are both extremes in this element. Its highest fringe contains the irreconcilable impossibilities who think that nothing but revolution and destruction can right the wrongs of workers.

Its lowest depths are those who are in the pay of corporate and employers' class interests to lead workers into the morasses of ill-advised action and thus fritter away their opportunities to make real progress.

There are those who go among the workers, whose present wrongs are great enough to appeal to the compassion of any human being, and lead these workers into strikes and then urge them to employ the methods of revolution, to refuse to enter into agreements with employers, or to accept any improvements because the full rights to which they are entitled are not granted at once.

Wage-earners have a right to inaugurate a revolution if they think such action is justified, but no leaders have a right to involve workers in revolutions under guise of strike. A strike is some-

secure necessary protective legisla- —*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

thing very different from a revolution. A strike is for the purpose of gaining some definite, concrete improvement in working conditions. The strike movement succeeds or fails in proportion to its effectiveness in accomplishing the purpose for which it was inaugurated. If a strike results in tangible benefits, those benefited are definitely formulated in the agreement by which the contest ends and industrial peace is restored.

These industrial contracts between workers and employers are the milestones of industrial progress. They clinch each forward movement in a tangible form and become a new basis for future demands and movements for greater progress.

An economic movement to be successful must be under the control of directors who understand the technique of the labor movement and who know the effectiveness of every move. It is a very dangerous thing in time of strike to advise workers to "raise hell." If that leader does not know what to do with the "hell" after strikers have raised it, he has embroiled those workers in a very dangerous condition—a condition that may endanger the whole movement.

Efforts to put "the fear of God" into the hearts of those who have no regard for human rights may have a place in the movement for human progress, but how, what, and by whom? There's the rub.

The hope of the workers lies in definite, persistent, intelligent and constructive action along lines that lead to definite, beneficial results to the workers—to the masses of the people, hence to the glory and perpetuation of our great republic.—*American Federationist.*

Mr. Union Man, the union label, stamp and shop card are mute appeals to you to do what? YOUR DUTY!

Mammoth spring, at Mammoth Spring, Ark., is the largest spring in the world. This spring covers eighteen acres, flows 600,000 gallons of water a minute and is seventyfeet deep. It forms Spring River, 350 feet wide. The flow does not fluctuate the year round.

SUCCESS.

My boy, seek not the easy path
To get to wealth or fame,
But earn your way in work or play,
Be worthy of your name.
He cannot keep his honors long
Who wins them by deceit,
And soon or late the demon, Fate,
Dethrones the cunning cheat.

Success is not a sudden thing,
It comes not over night.
Though you may see what seems to be
The victor in the fight.
And know that little has he toiled
His downfall is begun,
His gold is brass, his fame will pass
If they're not fairly won.

The road is long and hard and rough
That leads to lasting joy,
Time quickly stains what cunning gains,
Remember that, my boy.
And you must earn by honest toil
Whatever you'd possess.
'Tis from the heart that you must start
To be a real success.

—*Detroit Free Press.*

The Union Label is the best expression of devotedness to good union principles. We should all cultivate the Union Label Habit. At every local union meeting this subject should receive earnest attention. Bring the news home to your family, to your brother and sister. There is no excuse why union men should not spend their union-earned money for union made goods. It costs the same.

One special duty we owe ourselves is, to see that the union label is on everything we buy with our wages, earned under a union wage scale.

THE FELLER CALLED ME.

Better get mad with the feller called Me
  Than with anyone else on earth.
He's so blind sometimes that he cannot see
  The gifts that were his at birth.
He stumbles and trifles and goes astray
  Instead of just going right on
Up the straight and narrow and truthset way
  To the golden gardens of dawn.

Better get wise to the feller called Me
  The first thing that you do;
It will help so much in the day to be
  To put what you want to through.
Study him over and take his size,
  And probe him clear down to the deeps,
And learn by his ears and his nose and eyes
  What bad in his nature sleeps.

Better pick quarrels with the feller called Me
  Than with anyone else you know;
Ponder him over from A to Z,
  And watch him wherever you go.
For every weakness you find and cure
  Will be something to set you ahead
In the path that is straight and fine and sure,
  That your soul is destined to tread.

—*Folger McKenzie in Baltimore Sun.*

After taking measurements of the height of women in France, England and America, a doctor announces the English woman is the tallest and the American comes next. The average height of the French woman is nearly 5 feet 1 inch. The American woman is nearly two inches taller, and the women of Great Britain one-half inch taller than the latter. American women are heavier, their average weight being about 117 pounds.

The union label, or stamp on a purchase means what? Did you ever stop to think?

THE STATUS OF LABOR.

Representative Lewis, of Maryland, Declares It Is Not a Commodity.

In a speech in the House of Representatives on the labor sections of the Clayton law Representative David J. Lewis, a member of the labor group, said:

"Everybody understands that section 7 would have been written into the Sherman act in 1890 had there been any thought of the interpretation since made of that great act. Everybody knows that Congress at that time had no thought of legislating with regard to the relations of employer and employe.

"While a barrel of oil is not only a commodity in the market, it is a commodity before the courts; it is a commodity before the legislature. The legal attribute of a commodity is property, but the real attribute of the workingman is citizenship."

A BAN ON CIGARETTES.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., Jan. 25.—Cigarette smoking in West Virginia would be a criminal offense, and possession of cigarettes would be a misdemeanor, both violations punishable by a fine of $5, if a bill introduced in the State House of Delegates becomes a law. The bill prohibits any person or firm, either to sell or give away cigarettes, cigarette paper or tobacco used in the making of cigarettes. The bill also prohibits any person having cigarettes in his possession.

LABOR IS NOT A COMMODITY.

ALBANY, N. Y., Feb. 9.—Senator Wagner has introduced a bill in the State legislature similar to the Clayton act, which declares that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." In a public statement Senator Wagner said that under the anti-monopoly laws of this State

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...ecure necessary protective legisla-
President Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

efforts have been made to penalize wage earners for combining to improve wages and shop conditions by interpreting labor to be a commodity and the law proposed by him is necessary to correct a fundamental injustice.

"Commodities," he declared, "are the objective products of labor. while labor is the subjective efforts of a human being. The Federal government has accepted this principle in the Clayton law and my bill will extend its application to this State in intrastate matters."

You know when you see the union label on a purchase that no childish tears are woven into its fabric.

ANTI-UNION CLAIM EXPOSED.

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 9.—Anti-union employers in this city have persistently claimed that high wages has injured San Francisco. These claims are now exposed by Dr. B. M. Rastall, industrial investigator employed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. He blames land sharks for this city's troubles. "San Francisco is handicapped in its industrial growth by the comparatively high cost of land within its boundaries available for industrial purposes," he says.

"San Francisco has the highest average wage rates of any city in the United States. The high rates does not seem to increase materially manufacturing costs; from a table showing the percentage which wages make of total costs of manufacture it appears that wages do not comprise a larger percentage of such total costs than in other American cities."

LAWMAKERS SHOULD THINK.

OLYMPIA, WASH., Feb. 9.—Mrs. Ina P. Williams, representing Yakima county in the State legislature, seems to take her lawmaking duties seriously.

"We are living in a revolutionary period, both socially and commercially," she said. "A new sort of statecraft is needed to cope with the problems of such an era. We can no longer simply use the legislative taboo and get results.

"We must get to the bottom of things, learn the fundamental causes of the disturbances in labor, education and society. Instead of in blissful ignorance stating, 'I do not believe in labor unions,' we should find out what the causes are that have brought about the unrest and agitation for changed conditions."

NO LAWYER WILL DEFEND "CAN'T-STRIKE" LAW.

There is not a reputable Colorado attorney who will, or who has, defended the legality of the "can't-strike" law passed by the last legislature, says the Denver *Labor Bulletin*.

"At a meeting of the Bar Association in Colorado last summer," says this paper, "Attorney E. P. Costigan, whose interests in the big questions concerning the welfare of the people is well known, delivered an address in which he declared that the industrial law was subversive of every principle of human rights and in direct conflict with constitutional guarantees. While the industrial commission was represented at this meeting by its legal members, yet the statements made by Mr. Costigan went unchallenged."

WILL OPPOSE COSSACK LAW.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., Jan. 18.—Legislative agents of the State Federation of Labor, United Mine Workers' Union, Districts 17 and 29, the railroad brotherhoods and the central bodies of this city, Huntington and Wheeling are attending sessions of the legislature and will urge the adoption of remedial legislation and oppose the passage of a constabulary law, contemplated by the Manufacturers' Association.

YES! THERE'S A REASON.

What is the reason that we are building ships of war and increasing the size of our navy? It is because the millionaire monopolists are becoming afraid of a poverty-stricken people which their oppressive trusts and combinations are creating. It is because great wealth, unjustly acquired, always wants the security of standing armies and navies.—*Henry George.*

There is a satisfaction in asking for an article bearing the union label that is not felt when you accept a non-union article on the clerk's advice that it is just as good. You know the statement is not true; but how many of us fall for bunk that the dealer uses so that he may not miss a sale?

Frank P. Walsh says, and very properly, too, "The destiny of Labor depends upon Labor itself. Your power lies in your own brains and bodies. You must work out your own salvation."

What a power of truth there is in these few sentences. Ponder it over and ask yourself if you are doing your duty to yourself.

The advocates of war, who have something to sell during war time, must have received a shock when they saw the proclamation of the burden-bearers in war time, as well as other times (the working people), which was presented to each Congressman at his desk recently. It offers a new process by which war may be declared; it demands that the ones who will have to bear the brunt of the burden shall be consulted when a movement is made looking to the plunging of the country into war.

Those at home, upon whom the expense and real suffering will fall, demand that they may have a voice in what they may have to undertake, and not leave such an important matter to their distinguished representatives, who sit in Congress and sell their time to the people at $7,500 per, many of whom have no more efficient grey matter than those they represent. A particularly good feature of the proclamation is that the real people are awakening from their lethargy and taking an interest in what they may have to do, and suffer in. Let this great power once assert itself with the intelligence it possesses, and you will see some of their pinhead representatives taking to the tall timber.

The proclamation is as follows, and it should be carefully read, as it offers much food for thought:

"PROCLAMATION OF WORKING PEOPLE.

"*To the Congress of the United States:* The President is doing everything to keep us out of war. To you is delegated the power to declare war. To your hands is committed the power of life and death. Now more than ever, should your judgement be based not only on what you believe to be best and right, but also on the belief of the majority of those who may have to lay down their lives at your call. The more critical the step, the graver is your duty to take counsel with your fellow-citizens.

"The working people of America do not want war. In all wars it is on them that the burden falls heaviest. It is not fear of the burden that moves them to protest, but bearing the burden gives them the right to speak.

"The Central Federated Union of Greater New York has gone on record, advising you that the metropolitan press does not represent the views of the masses of the people. It is easiest for the newspapers to dramatize the patriotism that catches the emotions—the stir of martial uniforms, the thunder of artillery. The daily strangle-hold on all news permits the metropolitan press to set the public pace, and to dominate popular psychology. Even most of the magazines have had to yield to it.

ecure necessary protective legisla- *President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

"But the workers have a deeper patriotism—"Thou shalt not kill." It may not be so dramatic, but the masses of America are committed to the position that today a greater moral responsibility rests on them than on any of the nations now at war, because, outside of the madness of conflict, we can see clearly and judge temperately, and exercise self-control as extreme as the madness outside our borders.

"This crisis is no time for panic-stricken stampede into Prussianizing our schools with military training, which some of the nations now at war have abandoned — into compulsory military service, which the Americans who make up the melting pot of democracy left behind them in Europe — nor can we stand by passively while some of our State legislatures, stimulated by the same military hysteria, are forcing upon us a State constabulary. Serve our nation we will. But to be saddled with militarism —never! We are a section of the militant majority of the working people of America. In protection of the safety and integrity of our people, when in obedience to the will of the majority of the people, we will do our duty. But we will not allow ourselves to be trapped into war on hasty pretexts of self-defence, none better than those that flung the nations of Europe at each other's throats. If war there must be, let our decision rest in the reasoned humanitarian spirit of the masses of the people.

"We therefore call on you as your gravest duty, to use every means of learning the will of the great masses whose humble station in life gives no little chance in proportion to their number, for expression through the newspapers. You cannot justly act without consulting them, willing as they may be to lay down their lives for the ideals of America.

Extraordinary times demand extraordinary measures, and one of them should be to call your constituents to assemble in school houses and public halls to weigh this momentous decision, and to guide you in determining the basis on which you may wisely and honorably act. You can, if you choose, call into existence some form of the old New England Town Meeting.

"With a practical way open to you, there can be no excuse for plunging this country into war by influence of the voices that speak loudest and have most access to the privately owned press, instead of by influence of the voices of the common people, men and women, in public assembly.

"You may find too late that the best thought of all the people at home was not behind you, any more than we believe that the best thought of the German people was behind the Prussian military machine when it mobilized the newspapers in its favor before the people had a chance to deliberate and to mobilize their own best thought at their own meetings against war.

"The failure of Europe need not be your failure.

"BOARD OF MANAGEMENT
OF THE LABOR FORUM, Inc.
"February, 1917."

Much is being written and published about the poor worker's faults and excesses, but seldom a word do these welfare workers say about the miserable working conditions that drove these poor victims to the condition in which these welfarests have found them; they locate the condition, seek a remedy, but forget that the cause is still existent. Many of the charitable associations give with the right hand with emblazoned publicity, but with the left hand they are forever, in the dark, turning the screws of oppression on the earning capacity of the victims, who, in their extremity, turn to the charity associations for help which would not be necessary if they were permitted to earn enough to keep the wolf from the door.

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—I herewith submit for your endorsement an amendment to Section 40 of the Constitution.

This amendment has been submitted simultaneously by four Local Unions—No. 2, Wheeling, W. Va.; No. 16, Louisville, Ky.; No. 25, Cincinnati, Ohio, and No. 45, of New Orleans, La. The amendment is as follows:

Strike out, on line three of Section 40, the word "Ten" and insert the word "Fifteen."

The section as amended to read as follows:

"Every member shall pay into the funds of the Union to which he or she belongs the sum of fifteen (15) cents per week."

The endorsement form is enclosed upon which the Secretary will return the action of the Union on the amendment.

Secretary will return the vote of the Local Union not later than the 24th of March, 1917.

The unions proposing the amendment recommend that the amendment, if carried, take effect beginning July 1, 1917.

Fraternally yours,

A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Editorial.

Militarism brutalizes the minds of those parties to it and members of it. The tactic study of it is to kill the opponent without being hit.

Canada has 166 tobacco factories with an invested capital of a little over $23,000,000. Last year there was produced products valued at close to $29,000,000. The cost of materials used was $16,000,000. There were 9,613 people employed in the industry, and for their production of $29,000,000 they received $4,528,524.

The net increase of the earnings of the American Tobacco Company during 1916 was between $1,200,000 and $1,500,000. The dividend to the common stockholders will amount to about 24%. During the year they cut out the coupons from their cigarettes, which alone was a saving of $3,000,000, or a saving of 7½%. It took many nickels and dimes to make such an exhibit. Dear reader, how many of yours are included in this balance sheet showing?

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...resident Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Our opponents delight in the words "open shop." It expresses to them a sort of a differentiation that deceives them into the idea that they are not running a non-union shop. They do not see the deception, however, and they go on their way rejoicing.

In reality there are only two kinds of shops from the tradeunionists' point of view—the union shop, in which union men are employed and union conditions obtain; and the non-union shop, in which non-union men find employment and the conditions obtaining are such as may be prescribed by the boss, the men having no say as to what they shall receive for their work, or what conditions they must work under. There is co-operating sentiment which is expressed in a union shop under a joint agreement as to wages and conditions. The men employed are the animate units and the boss stands round giving expression without saying it to the opening lines of Selkirk's soliloquy, "I am monarch of all I survey; my right there is none to dispute; the animate units under my eye are in motion, but are mute."

Militarism destroys the democracy of governmental institutions. The advocates of compulsory, military training in this country have not the best interests of democratic institution in mind, and would fasten upon this country a vicious system that would bring about a class caste, separating our population along caste lines that we have so severely criticized the existence of in Europe.

The predatory forces are pressing the issue for selfish purposes; they see a danger in the growing intelligence and moral force of Labor; they know that the moral force of the majority (of which Labor is) will have so influenced legislation that they will lose the forceful influence with legislators that has been theirs for so many years, and that Labor will demand and get a larger and more equitable share of the production in industrial pursuits. They see in the compulsory military training proposition, the building up of a new sentiment by dividing and distracting the centering of the industrial mind for the workers' benefit. With compulsory training, when established, it is only a short step to a great standing army, the bulk of the burden for the maintenance of which is always saddled on the backs of the workers and making the worker support an instrument that may be frequently used to compel the men and women of Labor to submit to industrial conditions that they inwardly revolt against. A militarist system is, therefore, a double-edged sword, standing as a menace to the uplift of the worker from thralldom of industrial serfdom.

The gradual rise of Labor, intellectually, until it becomes a moral force for the protection of its own interests, is a condition that the employers in the industrial world view with no little apprehension.

He who persists with determination to obtain an end will succeed in time if his object is a worthy one. For twenty years, now, Organized Labor has been working to the end of getting a satisfactory immigration bill passed into law by the Federal Government, but like a boat beating against a heavy wind was driven back before it; but not discouraged by early failures, new tactics were made, the sails again trimmed and at it again, and finally sailed into port. Four different times the bill has been vetoed by Presidents of the United States after passage through both houses of Congress: in the first instance by President Cleveland, March 2, 1897; the second time by President Taft, February 14, 1913, and again, for the third time, by President Wilson, January 28, 1915. In the last run for port every effort for success was made. The Senate and the House both passed the bill with the Literacy Test in it with good majorities, but President Wilson again put his veto

on it; but both the Senate and the House, again acting upon it, passed it over the veto of the President and it now becomes a law.

We make no claim to the bill being all that we wanted, or being a panacea for all the ills flowing from immigration; but as it now stands, we will have a respite from the tremendous flow of illiterate immigration, and it will give us a chance to Americanize those whom we now have with us—Americanize them and teach them an understanding of American standards of living and inject into them a knowledge that will prevent them from being exploited by predatory wealth to the detriment of the American workers and lowering of the standards of American measurements of citizenship. The steamship companies, coal barons, the steel trust, and other trusts have exploited these poor illiterate immigrants to their heart's content, for many years past, to the immigrants' detriment, giving them false conception of American conditions and fostering and fortifying the already partially established, at least, feelings of revolt, which the brought with them when they left their own countries, coming as they did with bright hopes for the future, only to find their condition little bettered. American standards will now have a chance to find appreciation by those who are now under the process of assimilation.

Ever since Labor in its organized estate was established, it has been entering vigorous protests against abridgements of the various kinds that have been advocated by the employer who stood uncompromisingly against the organization of Labor and have endeavored to have vicious legislation of a suppressive and oppressive character passed by both National and State legislatures in the hope of strangling Labor's rights to organize, and act as a federated body representing aggregated units.

In all of these years of oppressive attempts, the public press, with few exceptions, have taken the part of the oppressors, pursuing the policy of right or wrong, upholding the side of the question from which the paper received the most advertising patronage; the justice entering into the question carried no weight in the use of the pen when the dollar was in sight. Organized Labor was shrapnelled, 42-centimetered, given poisonous gas and everything else that editorial geniuses could devise, with the callousness of a field of battle, or a submarine attack.

Congress was importuned to uphold the vicious contentions of the oppressors—the courts—which denied Labor of all its legal rights, with the possible exception of the right to breathe; Labor's motives were impugned; Labor itself was beaten, cut, shot, starved, imprisoned, burned, deported and separated from their loved ones; homes burned and broken up; there is nothing that was practiced in mediaeval times, during the religious persecutions that has not been brought to bear against the organizing of Labor.

Labor suffered, died and bore all these persecutions, but grew, and grew, and grew, until today it has a recognized place in the public affairs of men. The law of compensation is as inexorable as the ancient laws of the Medes and Persians, and in time affects all and demands its pound of flesh. The press has prospered under its championship of the oppressors of Labor, receiving their reward in the way of pages of advertising copy; it has developed into the degree of the mighty in high places.

The press has been stirring its thinkbox of late in a new direction. The price of paper has been climbing, and Congress has been urged to investigate—investigate cries of trustified paper manufacture, and other things that have a desire to climb, which go to make the news sheets. The latest thing in the profit-clipping line is the "dry" question and

secure necessary protective legisla-
—*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

the tails hanging to its kite, with other sumptuary legislation, the germ of which is, to say the least, a viciously, vigorous mike, which primises like other epidemics of its ilk to run its course ,as it has gotten in the mental fabric of the free-born American citizen.

It is the virulence of the cases in Congress that is now engaging the attention of the public press, as it is striking at every foundation of the press "Dollar Mark"—"the advertising columns copy." The trouble with the disease is, that it is a matter of speculation as to how far it will go. The fanatics are now at the bat, the pitcher has lost his art, and the fielders are either asleep or they have taken to the shade of the old apple tree; and the umpire has lost his counters, the catcher is cutting up didoes to the pitcher, but the batters take all the balls and sends them afield and runs are counted up. The fanatics seem to be now in the legislative saddle and are endeavoring to carry out a program that is touching the press "Dollar-Mark," and in their intoxication of power promise to leave the imprint of their intemperate fingers on the press profits, and the press is not taking their dose with any distinguishable good grace.

The editorial pens are slinging ink every which way and putting up a defense, and turning to the Labor press for help in their extremity. They now see, through the cloud of dollars they have been fighting Labor with, the coming of the very same oppressions, or those bringing the same result that Labor has tought an dprotested against for so many years, and, for that matter, is still protesting against. Labor will continue to protect the liberties of action, freedom of press, freedom of speech, and the right to work or quit, as properly suits their best interests.

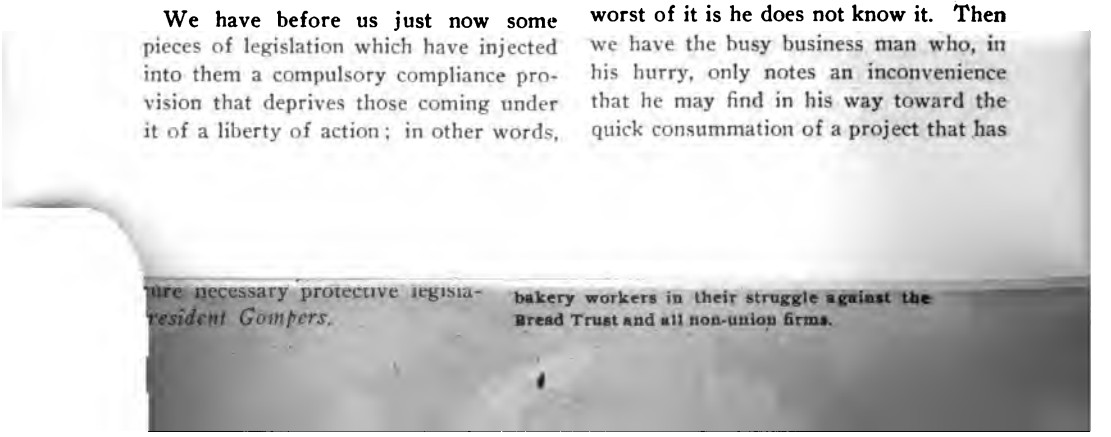
The situation today has its most serious side and also is promotive of sympathy for the more recently affected, especially those who have had their sway, unrighteously, against a most righteous cause.

The Labor press, which is not in the game to make millions but to educate the masses of workers so that they may see the coils that are being woven around them, has for many years seen the tide of unrighteous and intemperate legislation, and has exerted its powers of pen to stem the tide of the fanatical wave; but, with the billionaire press pulling the other way, it was up-hill work, and it is not without praise in its own circles and indeed in other circles who have come to recognize the great power for good, not only for Labor, but for the country's good, and all citizens living therein. The fact that the Labor press was not instituted as a money-making scheme to make plutocrats and autocrats, but to promote the morals and intelligence of the workers on an ever-ascending scale—the editors and managers of which have many time gone home, after paying the help and bills, to a loving wife to tell her he has nothing left to bring home—carries with it a weight that no scales can weigh. It is that spirit, on which the Labor press is based, that has given it the potency it now has. Is it any wonder, then, that Labor, while thinking seriously, cannot keep back the sympathetic smile that plays round its lips, while it reads the protests of the great public press against the fanatical legislation that is finding legislative digestion in our legislative halls? Greed and fanaticism, coupled with the support for policy and financial reasons of the public press, have endeavored to devise means for the regulating and the relegating of Labor. The fanatics have now turned their attention to regulating the newspapers, and with the intemperance that usually abscesses an extravagant mentality, there is no telling how far they may go. It is to be hoped their progress may be arrested before they get across the bridge and burn it behind them.

Legislators who, in exercising their functions as such, assume the right to pass legislation of a compulsory character, wherein the rights of the governed are interfered with or oppressed, are starting in the loom a fabric which will in time be their own shroud. They should know that to weave the woof of compulsive and sumptuary legislation in with the warp of reason is like the process of making gun cotton—the mixing of the two elements makes the fabric dangerous to handle. The best government is the one that governs the least and follows the lines expressed in a sentence of the Declaration of Independence, which says that "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Just now we are having a period in which the spirit of compulsion is struggling for the upper hand. Perplexing social questions are no doubt vexing our legislators. The fanatical element, which is always with us to stir up a mischief that they will get from under and leave the other fellow bear the brunt of, are importuning our legislators to intemperance which those of us who have the best interests of the country at heart hope they will not indulge too freely, as intoxication from political power will have more baneful results than intoxication resulting from over-indulgence in the powers hidden in the distilled spirit. It was the foolish indulgence of that brand of intoxicant that resulted in the framing of that immortal document which brought into a living reality the United States of America.

It will be much better to give time for a proper solution of the perplexing social problems, now confronting our legislators, than to pass legislation that will undoubtedly become a disturbing element in the fundamentals of our social fabric.

We have before us just now some pieces of legislation which have injected into them a compulsory compliance provision that deprives those coming under it of a liberty of action; in other words, involuntary servitude—depriving a man of his rights to leave his employment when he finds it repugnant to him. If that is not a spirit of intemperance in a legislative way, we would like to know just what it is. Our legislators and executives are torn by the various elements who are intemperately urging the passage of this legislation; the different elements are arguing from different motives. The employing element, from his selfish motive, wants to increase his profits: he, refusing the demands for increased pay and better conditions of employment, feels safe under a compulsive act; that he can gain time, and hopes, through influences — political and otherwise — to finally defeat the demands made upon him. The National Manufacturers' Association, from motives of inborn dislike for the organization of labor, because of its power to wrest from its members a more equal division of production, voices their undying hatred and determination to destroy the organization of Labor wherever a vulnerable point of attack presents itself. Then we have the irresponsible fanatic who will do anything to get into print, and carry out a program which their will-o'-the-wisp minds may get a smattering conception of the final result. The logical end or the baneful effect are of no consequence to them so long as their unstudied ends are carried to a conclusion, and they will go home, patting themselves on the back, and gleefully recite to their neighbors how they got after Congressman So and So. Again, we have the honest fellow who knows nothing about the economical movement and bases his views upon the narrowed influence that move him to action; he is totally ignorant, from a student's point of view, of the fundamentals upon which the subject he is discussing rests; the worst of it is he does not know it. Then we have the busy business man who, in his hurry, only notes an inconvenience that he may find in his way toward the quick consummation of a project that has



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resident Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

control, for the moment, of his mind; and, without turning his practical mind to even a cursory review of the inconveniencing condition, he lets go his artillery of protest. Later on, when his practical mind is forced to analyze the situation, he sees the error of his snap judgment; he sees that selfishness was the incentive to protesting voice. Then comes the worker, the one who is immediately affected. He presents his case from his point of view, giving facts and figures—both oral and by document—which disprove and contradict in varying degrees the statements made by those who have gone before him; he shows the amount of production, the cost of producing given units of the industry, the profits, and the share that comes to him; he shows his cost of living, comparing it with the net profits of the industry, and proves he is only getting a bare existence from it, and making no provision for the later days when his earning capacity is on the decline and the rainy days become more frequent. Before every worker's eye through life is the economic scrap heap and he endeavors to build his pathway around the heap so that he will not be dumped unceremoniously upon it toward the end of a hard fought life.

The funeral day for the burial of the hail-fellow-well-met politician and representative, who seek the legislative office and is elected by compromise or popular clamor, is not far distant, and in his stead will come the practical man whose broad conception of statesmanship warrants him the support of his constituents. It takes statesmanship and honesty of purpose to analyze a condition and take the wheat and let the wind blow the chaff away. When this day is ushered in, the pinhead legislator will be retired to private life and given time to weigh his grey matter and figure up how many

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

pennyweights of brains it takes to make statesmen.

It is then, and only then, that popular government will be the success that our forefathers hoped for when they instituted it on American soil.

Some of our law makers in Washington and elsewhere in their zealousness seem to forget a few of the fundamentals that go to make up properly applicable law. Applicable law is a statute that those under its government subscribe to and support it on the ground of its properly applying to the case to which it is intended to apply and based upon proper fundamentals, having in mind a justness against which nobody will complain.

Laws passed which do not have for their basis the fundamentals of civil government, may for a time be submitted to, but they pall in time, and finally result in open revolt with the result that some one or more loses his or their heads. History has recorded many instances of that end being reached. Kings and Judges have felt the heavy hand of a people revolting against the tyranny of inapplicable law.

The people, the common people in all countries, are as a rule peace-loving and support proper laws when the important element, justice, is the basis upon which the law rests. Again, however, there are among the people of all countries those who are not content to let well enough alone; they think (as an old Irish friend of mine puts it) that they should be captains and from an exalted position should dictate to the privates in the ranks how they must conduct business or otherwise deport themselves.

This is the position taken by some of our legislators, and some of our judges, and again, by some people of a fanatical turn of mind who assume the role of conservator of the people, and is one that gives concern. They work themselves up to such a point that they become obsessed with the idea that they, and only they, can be right; the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution must be curbed. These same people assume that popular government is not what the people want; they feel that to them has been entrusted the Deity-given form of government, and inspired by these self-appointed and created obsessions, they begin a crusade, carrying with it an

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

...ary protective legisla-
...President Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

element of compulsion, which the majority of the people treat as a joke for the time being, drifting in a subconscious way in the belief that the legislators, either State or National, would gibbet it in short order. They wake up later to find that their silence has been taken as giving consent and the piece of legislation is up for hearing in all seriousness. The fanatics elated to see their ideas meeting with such favor are carried to greater flights of imagination and self-satisfaction.

For some years now we have been treated to these doses of abridgement and have offered no particular protest, and it is only now that the slack in the rope of liberty has been about taken up and the sensation of a difficulty to breathe freely that we are becoming conscious of the tightening of the rope, and we have begun to ponder on a way to either break the fanatical hold on the other end of the rope, or wonder if the political broad-sword is sharp enough to cut the rope. One or the other method must be adopted if we are not to be subjected to a series of fanatical rule under the old Roman and Grecian style when people were subjects of the sovereign and not a free people with a right and a say to say by what laws we shall be governed.

The recent election, viewed from a non-political standpoint, and its result, was a mild protest, showing that the people are not wholly unconscious of what is going on. Under the constitutional provision, Congress was made the law-making body. If we elect in our beclouded moments fanatics to represent us, we must pay the penalty for our foolish short-sightedness when bad legislation is imposed; but we have a right of repeal.

We have been treated for a number of years to a species of law disqualifications from the third department of our government (the judiciary). Ever since Justice Marshall's time, when the assumption of power was taken, the courts have without any constitutional warrant assumed the position of declaring an act of Congress void and without effect.

The people who elect their representatives to the law-making bodies have not in any convincing sense voiced a protest to this kind of assumption of power, instructing their representatives to legislate against such dictatory judicial usurpation allowing in their sub-conscious way the continuance of this violation of constitutional authorization.

After the passage of the Adamson law, the railroads who opposed it, wished to have the exercise of this unauthorized power brought against the Adamson law, and put the Government on the defen-

STRONGHOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

sive, and brought the case up before a court upon which sat a single judge. No trial of any length or seeming purpose other than that of hurrying the case so that it could be filed within a certain time on appeal before the United States Supreme Court. This single judge in a perfunctory manner declared this legislation unconstitutional, thus declaring void the will of the whole people of the United States as vested in two Houses of Congress and the Chief Executive who sits as the head of the Government by the expressed will of the people. Does it not seem to be a curious anomalism that such a thing could occur when our Constitution does in no sense of the word authorize it. It certainly seems to be a plain case of the assumption of power not warranted by any law.

That we are not all dead in our stream, drifting, is proven by the introduction of a resolution by Senator Owen, the effect of which, and the reception of which, will be interesting to watch. If the Senator is not chloroformed and his resolution sent to Limbo, some interesting discussion will occur when the resolution gets on the floor.

The resolution is as follows. Our readers will do well to watch the debate upon it:

"WASHINGTON, Jan. 13.—United States Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, introduced a joint resolution in the Senate which provides that any Federal judge who rules an act of Congress unconstitutional is guilty of judicial usurpation and of violating the constitutional requirement of "good behavior," upon which his tenure of office rests.

"Such decision, the resolution continues, will be sufficient to show that the Federal judge has 'vacated' his office, and thereafter no officer of the United States shall recognize such judge as an officer of the United States or entitled to any of the emoluments or dignities of such office.

"'The President of the United States is hereby authorized to nominate a successor to fill the position vacated by such judicial officer.'

"In his preamble to this resolution, the author says the Constitution gives no authority to any judicial officer to declare unconstitutional an act passed by Congress and signed by the President.

"In the constitutional convention in which the Constitution was framed, a motion was made three times to give the Supreme Court, in some mild form, the right to express an opinion upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, and was three times overwhelmingly rejected.

"'Such assumption of power by the Federal courts,' continues Senator Owen, 'interferes with the reasonable exercise of the sovereignty of the people of the United States and diverts it from the hands of the representatives of the people in Congress assembled to a tribunal appointed for life and subject to no review and to no control by the people of the United States, and is, therefore, against wise public policy.'"

NOT HIS COMPLAINT.

"Read the directions on the bottle, Mandy."

"It sez: For adults one teaspoonful—

"Thunder! That ain't what ails me—what else does it say?"

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS

LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Volume 21 March, 1917 Number 3

The TOBACCO WORKER

Official Magazine
of the
Tobacco Workers' International Union

Rooms 50-1-2-3 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.

JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

NOW ON SALE

For UNION MEN and Friends of Union Labor.

Made in Cincinnati and is the only factory in the country which has adopted the eight-hour working day.

THE EIGHT-HOUR TOBACCO CO.

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

PRICE 5 CENTS

The **UNION LABEL** induced a trial

MERIT made it **A SUCCESS**

We make many other Brands **equally GOOD**

Ask for Samples

secure necessary protective legisla-
—*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

HARVARD COLLEGE
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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 MARCH, 1917 No. 3

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

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SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT.

In submitting my report for the past year, you will find it a very lengthy one, and would ask the indulgence of the members of our organization in not having submitted a report up to the present time.

It is unnecessary to say that the label propaganda for Union Labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff and labels of other crafts has been continuous during the past year. While the increase in Union Labels in our organization has not been as large as the year previous, owing to the high cost of ingredients, and particularly so of the raw material of leaf tobacco, which has increased to an abnormal price—between 40 and 50 per cent. higher than in previous years—and owing to the awful catastrophe on the other side of the water—the war between the great nations of Europe—which has almost meant the elimination of Turkish tobacco, the manufacturers of cigarettes have found it almost impossible to have any of that class of tobacco imported even at the tremendous price of 80 or 90 per cent. over former years, and the scarcity in the Middle West, which has made it impossible for the manufacturers to get out the orders which they have on hand in our Union factories, thereby decreasing our membership materially. But even with all of those obstacles we can look with pride at the increase of Union Labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff.

During the month of February, I attended a meeting of No. 132 in Toledo, O. This local is composed of all girls, and this being the night of the election of officers for the ensuing term, we found it exceedingly difficult to find a member who would accept the position of Financial Secretary, owing to the fact that our former Secretary, Miss Rose Dollish, a very hard and energetic worker for the organization, was about to be married, much to the regret of the International Union and the members of No. 132, knowing full well that it would be a hard matter to fill the office with a competent official. But after much persuasion we were successful in having a member by the name of Miss Peters take the office, who has filled the position with credit for the organization. It was a revelation to me to find such a large membership in attendance, owing to the fact that the temperature was below zero on that evening, some of them coming five or six miles to attend this meeting, which indeed was a gratification to me, knowing that those girls were voluntary members of our organization and not being compelled to be such on account of the manufacturer not using our label, it being one of the subsidiary plants of the Liggett-Myers Tobacco Trust plants. The very existence of our local union in that city and its success is due entirely to our friend, John Quinlivan, who, as

business agent of the Central Body, has taken upon himself to be the guiding star or guardian angel through his advice and willingness to help them on any occasion.

After addressing the Local Unions in that city on Union Labeled tobaccos and cigarettes, I arrived in Detroit in time to attend the meeting of Local No. 3 of that city. The meeting was not as largely attended as I had expected it to be, as this Local Union is the largest in our International Union, but through the efforts of the old guard, Charles P. Alder, our Third Vice-President; John Carney, their official Secretary, and Jim Matdgan, Trustee, and the other members, they have kept this organization on a plane second to none in our International Union. I had the opportunity, while in that city, of calling on the different manufacturers also, who were not overly optimistic, owing to the fact of the labor scarcity in that city. They had plenty of orders, but were unable to find help to manufacture their products. Detroit is flooded with Union Labeled tobacco in all the stores, and there is a fairly good demand made by the consumers.

From Detroit I was called to the city of Louisville on account of the Executive Board meeting and the installation of the newly-elected officers, and the routine work of the International Union was taken up for the year previous. The proceedings of that Board meeting has reached almost every member of the organization and it is unnecessary to repeat what work was outlined for our local unions for the ensuing year.

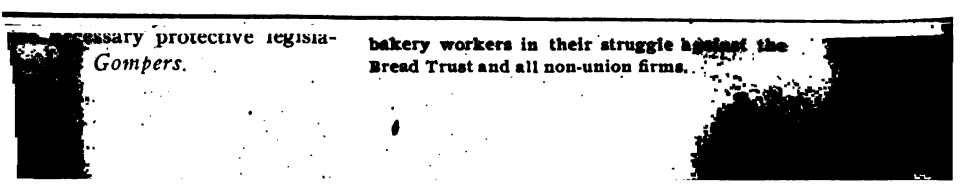
A Labor Forward Movement was progressing in Dayton, O., and Brother McKittrick, President of the Central Body of that city, requested me to come to Dayton and take part in this movement. While there I addressed the Central Body and all the local unions of the different crafts on the necessity of their demanding Union Labeled tobaccos and cigarettes and other products bearing the Union Label. Among the many organizers who assisted in that movement were: Henry Strieffler, organizer of the A. F. of L.; William Shay, of the Painters and Decorators; John Hart, of the Barbers' International Union; Schmitt, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, and numerous others. A number of new local unions were organized, and with the increase in membership of local unions already organized, the Forward Movement was a complete success. Unfortunately, there being no tobacco manufacturers in that city, consequently there is no local of our craft organized.

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department was called in Washington, D. C., of which department I am Third Vice-President, and I proceeded to that city to take part in the deliberations of the Executive Board.

Prior to this meeting I was requested by local unions Nos. 83, 98 and 100 to visit New York and address their meetings. I found those local unions in excellent condition, the membership working full time and agitating very strenuously for the Union Label, and I might say that the success of those locals is due to the efforts of their officers, namely: Brother A. Sheines, our Fourth Vice-President; Brothers Matlin, Tigel, Bock, Gidoney and Barizally, who are addressing meetings every evening in the interest of the Tobacco Workers' International Union.

I was requested by Local No. 1 of St. Louis to come to that city and address the local union and adjust a little controversy that had existed relative to their wage scale agreement, and was successful in bringing about an amicable settlement between the employer and employees.

I then proceeded to the office to take up the routine work that had been left



unfinished, and was in time to address Local No. 16 of that city.

I then left for Huntington, W. Va., to address the West Virginia State Federation of Labor, who were holding a convention in that city. I called their attention to the different brands of tobacco, snuff and cigarettes that had the Union Label attached, and urged upon them that they should, above all others, give employment to Union men and women through their purchasing power, and that that could only be accomplished by demanding the Union Label on all commodities which they desired to purchase. Brother William Hahne, of Local No. 2, was a delegate representing Local No. 2 of Wheeling, of our International Union, and he assisted me in distributing mirrors and Union Labeled tobacco, kindly donated by the Bloch Bros. Tobacco Co., of Wheeling, W. Va.

During the month of March and April my time was devoted to the Southern States, and I addressed a meeting of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, who were holding their annual convention in the city of Monroe, La. This convention was largely attended. I gave them a pretty strong talk on Union Labeled products and distributed booklets among the delegates. In nearly all the stores of Monroe Union Labeled tobaccos are displayed in the windows, and there is a good demand for products bearing the Union Label.

On my way to Houston, Tex., I stopped at New Orleans and addressed Local Union No. 45, and found the local union in good condition, through the untiring efforts of our Second Vice-President, John Ruckert, and Leo Lambert, and the entire membership working in harmony with one another. The employers of the Peoples' Tobacco Company, where the members of our local union are employed, Mr. Oury, President, and Mr. Karger, Secretary, are both broad-minded men, and we might term them true friends of labor, and our membership does not have any friction in signing their wage scale agreements.

My next stop was at Houston, Tex., where I had been scheduled to address the State Federation of Labor on the Union Label, Shop Card and Button. This was one of the largest conventions ever held by that organization, some 400 or more delegates being in attendance. I called their attention to the fact that, while the State of Texas was fairly organized, the demand for Union Labeled products was very small, showing conclusively that the members of organized labor of that State were not living up to their obligations as union men, particularly so in the lines of Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes. I also distributed literature and tacked up large cards in the meeting halls. The amount of Union Labeled tobaccos on the shelves of the stores in Houston is very small, and from the dealers' explanation of it the union men do not demand Union Labeled tobacco, snuff and cigarettes. A number of other labor men of prominence also addressed this convention on the principles of organization.

On my way to attend the Georgia State Federation of Labor in Savannah, I stopped at Galveston, Tex., and addressed several meetings there, and was informed by the dealers that there was a fairly good demand for Union Labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff.

Arriving in Savannah, Ga., I found it only fairly organized, owing to the fact that it is not a manufacturing city, and owing to tourists coming from the North and not being identified with organized labor, there was no incentive for them to demand Union Labeled products, so consequently there were very few dealers who had Union Labeled products on their shelves. The convention of the Georgia State Federation of Labor was opened by President Marquard with

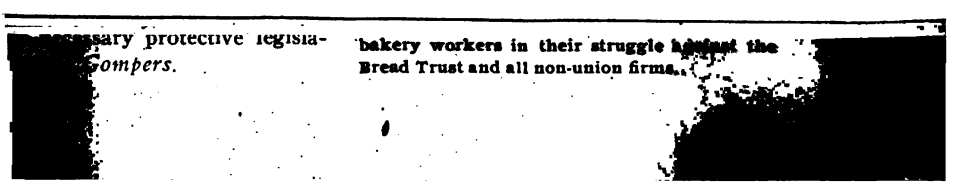
about 300 or more delegates. On the second day I was granted the floor to address the convention. My remarks were listened to very attentively by the delegates, and a resolution of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, which I had introduced, was unanimously indorsed. Grant Hamilton, organizer of the A. F. of L., addressed the convention on the Model Injunction Law; also John W. Hays, President of the Union Label Trades Department, addressed the convention, together with J. Shannessy and Mrs. Sarah Comboy and several others. I also addressed the Central Labor Union and other local unions in that city during my short stay there. I had the pleasure of meeting with Mr. F. D. Ware, of the Ware Tobacco Company of Lynchburg, who, with his agent, was working that city with a Union Labeled cigarette. He was very well pleased with the sales of his products in the Southern section of the country, and we distributed some of his famous cigarettes to the delegates of the convention.

I received a telegram from Mr. Thomas Tracy, of the Union Label Trades Department, advising me to go to Cincinnati and address the convention of the Musicians, who were holding their session in that city. This was also a very large convention, and in speaking before them I called their attention to the necessity of improving the conditions of the label crafts through their purchasing power, and also advised them to become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, as they had withdrawn from this department some years previous. I also distributed literature among the delegates and introduced a resolution of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, which was adopted unanimously by the convention

On leaving Cincinnati, I arrived in Richmond, Va., to take up some trouble that had arisen in the local organizations, and incidentally called on a manufacturing concern of Petersburg, Va., who desired some information whereby he could use the Union Label of the Tobacco Workers on his products. The trouble in Richmond was settled up amicably to all parties concerned. I also addressed the Central Body while in that city and had our Local Union No. 11 to send a delegate to the Central Body representing the Tobacco Workers' International Union. I called on the Macklin-Zimmerman Company of Petersburg, W. Va., and found that he desired only to use the Union Label on his domestic products, as he had informed me that 90 per cent. of his manufacturing was for export and he could not see the necessity of attaching a label on export tobaccos, or, in other words, he was in favor of allowing his men and women to organize in the domestic department, but could not see his way clear to allow the men and women in the export department to be organized. I called his attention to the fact that our constitution required that all men and women working for a manufacturer were compelled to become members of our organization before the manufacturer would be granted the use of the Union Label. He informed me that he would later take the matter up with the directors of the company, who were out of the city at that time. I advised him that the matter could be taken up with our First Vice-President, Brother Walden, of Richmond, Va., but up to the present time this concern has not been heard from.

During the month of June I addressed the conventions of the Bookbinders and Stereotypers in Indianapolis, Ind. Both of those conventions were well attended and our resolutions were adopted unanimously by the delegates, and I feel positive that a better demand will be made for Union Labeled tobaccos by the membership of those organizations.

My attention was called to a telegram from Mr. Evans, our International Sec-



retary, relative to a strike that was taking place in one of the subsidiary plants of the Lorrilard Tobacco Trust, located in Middletown, O., commonly called the Polar Bear and Honest Branch of that corporation. Being unable to go there immediately I telegraphed Mr. Evans to proceed to that city in the hopes of organizing the people out on strike. He was successful in doing so, and the week following Mr. Evans and myself formed them into a permanent organization, giving them a charter of No. 133 of our International Union. The cause of the strike was a demand for increased wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. After a strike of three days the firms conceded to the demands asked for and they returned to work. This organization was composed of all girls working in the packing department, and they were very much enthused over the fact that they were members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union. On Saturday evening, a week after they were organized, they gave a ball and entertainment in that city, and through the efforts and assistance of the membership of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers and the Metal Polishers the ball was a huge success, thereby placing a few hundred dollars in the treasury of the local union. We wish to extend our thanks to Brother Cecil Adams and Brother Griffith, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, as well as to the officers of the Metal Polishers of that city for their untiring efforts in the organization of that local.

In the month of July I was instructed by the Union Label Trades Department to address the convention of the International Association of Potters, which was to take place on the 3d at Atlantic City, N. J. This convention was also largely attended, and in addressing them in reference to Union Labeled products, I called their attention to the fact that for many years I had appeared before them urging them to renew their efforts in demanding Union Labeled goods. They had in contemplation the use of the label on potteryware, and a committee was appointed to design a label and bring this design before the American Federation of Labor for its confirmation. I also distributed literature of the Tobacco Workers' International Union.

On the week following I addressed the Glass Bottle Blowers' Convention, which was held in that city, and also distributed Union Labeled tobacco and literature. On the day following my address I was made an honorary member of that association by a unanimous vote of the convention, for which I am exceedingly proud, and after the announcement by President Dennis Hayes of the honor conferred upon me, I assured the delegates that they would never regret the confidence that they had bestowed upon me by making me an honorary member of their association. I also distributed Union Labeled cigarettes and literature to the delegates.

I was compelled to return to Louisville, Ky., owing to the fact that the Executive Board would be in session, and I would have to preside at those meetings. Every member of the organization is aware of what had transpired during those meetings, as each local union received the proceedings of the meetings of the Executive Board. It is therefore unnecessary to repeat them in this report.

During the Executive Board meeting No. 133 of Middletown, O., requested me to attend their meeting and address them. Brother Charles Alder, our Third Vice-President, and myself, proceeded to Middletown to address their meeting, which was largely attended.

During the latter part of the month I was called to the city of Toledo, O, at the request of the officers of No. 132, and, much to my surprise, I was requested by the officers to revoke their charter, owing to the fact that the origi-

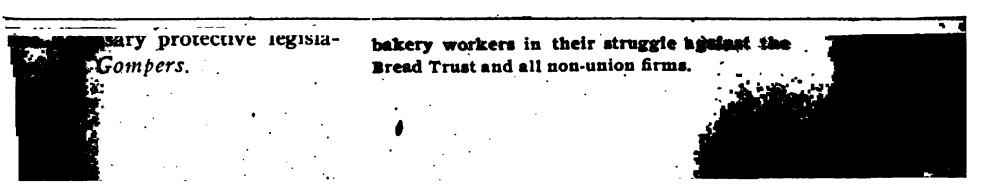
nal membership had dwindled down to about seven members, some of the older members having retired from active work in the factory and others, through marriage, had left the organization, and the new employees in that factory, being of foreign nationality, the officers found it impossible to induce them to become members of the organization. I revoked the charter and received the money on hand and the books, papers and seals and forwarded them to the International office. The officers of the organization regretted this step very much indeed, but owing to circumstances over which they had no control, they were compelled to adopt this method.

On my way to Buffalo I stopped at Detroit and had several conferences with the officers of our local union and the Bagley Tobacco Company in reference to a controversy that had taken place between the Bagley Land Company and the Detroit Land Company, which is an entirely separate corporation from the Bagley Tobacco Company, had in course of erection a new building and employed non-union workmen on this structure. The committee of the Central Body called on Mr. John Bagley, of the Bagley Tobacco Company, and informed him of the unfairness of the Bagley Tobacco Company. In response to the argument of the committee, Mr. Bagley informed them that the Bagley Tobacco Company had nothing whatsoever to do with the erection of that building, as the Bagley Tobacco Company was a distinct corporation and was not in any way identified with the Bagley Land Company. Notwithstanding this fact, the Detroit Federation of Labor placed the products of the Bagley Tobacco Company on the unfair list, and sent out circular letters to all the Central Bodies throughout the country, and in the inference of this letter it would mean that the Bagley Tobacco Company were erecting a building with non-union labor for the manufacture of their tobacco, and this was not the case, as the Bagley Tobacco Company's building was erected eight years ago by organized labor. The result was that our Local No. 13 in Detroit withdrew their delegates from the Detroit Federation of Labor owing to the unfairness of this letter, and requested the International Union to send out a circular letter to Central Bodies refuting the statements as claimed in the letter by the Detroit Federation of Labor. The request of No. 13 was complied with, and a letter was sent to all the Central Bodies notifying them that the brands of the Bagley Tobacco Company were manufactured by the members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, their printers being members of the Typographical Union, and engineers, firemen, etc., being members of their own crafts. Local No. 13 has not, up to the present time, reaffiliated with the Detroit Federation of Labor, notwithstanding the fact that they had $1,500 worth of stock in the Labor Temple Association in that city.

From there I proceeded to Buffalo and addressed the Central Labor Union of that city and several other organizations.

I also addressed the New Jersey State Federation of Labor, which convened in Orange, N. J., and distributed literature and tacked up large cards. This is what you might term a hatters' town, where a large number of hat manufacturers are located, and all organized, and there is consequently a good demand for Union Labeled tobacco. Mr. Gompers also addressed this convention.

I then proceeded to Glens Falls, N. Y., to attend the New York State Federation of Labor, representing Locals 83, 98 and 100 as a delegate of the Paper Cigarette Makers of New York City, affiliated with our International Union. This was one of the largest conventions ever held by the New York State Federation of Labor and was addressed by Mr. Gompers, John Mitchell and James Lynch. I also addressed the conventions, taking as my



subject, "Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons," and the resolution introduced by me was adopted by this convention. Brother E. E. Richards, of Local No. 24 of Albany, N. Y., also acted as a delegate, representing his local union, and he ably assisted me in distributing Union Labeled tobaccos and literature to the delegates attending this convention.

From New York I proceeded to Newark, N. J., and addressed the convention of the International Association of the Steam Engineers on "Union Labels." Newark is one of the best cities in the United States for the purchasing of Union Labeled goods, having a local committee of the Essex Central Body, and through their energetic efforts the Union Label can be found on any commodity.

My next stop was Springfield, Mass., where the convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor was in session. This convention was also largely attended. While in this city I addressed the Massachusetts Barbers' State Convention, which preceded the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, which I also addressed later and distributed literature among the delegates.

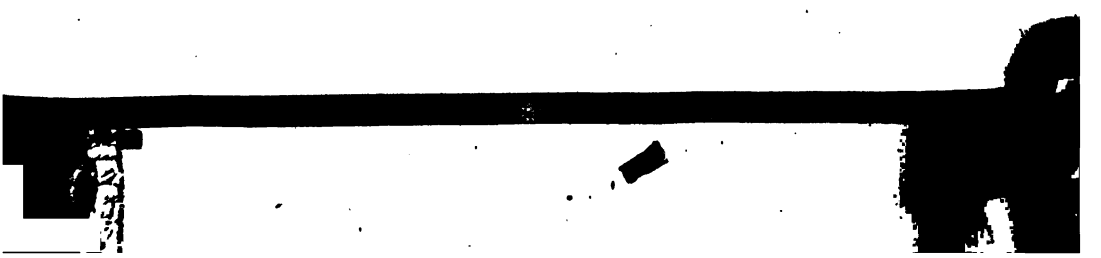
While there I received a telegram from Mr. Evans, our International Secretary, notifying me that my services were required in the city of New York, owing to a strike of tremendous proportions which was taking place in the Trust cigarette factories.

The American Tobacco Company's three plants and the Lorrilard plants in New York and Jersey City were closed down, owing to the strike of their people in these departments. Brothers Sheines, Matlin and myself attended one of their open meetings, and in addressing them I called their attention to the fact that nothing could be accomplished as a mob, and urged them to organize and become affiliated with our organization, under whose protection and instructions they would be able to make their demands upon this corporation through a committee.

I held conferences with the manager of the American Tobacco Company, and also the Lorrilard Tobacco Company, but under no circumstances would they agree to recognize our organization, but would meet with the committees from their factories who were out on strike. The only course to pursue in this case, in my opinion, was to waive claim to recognition of organization, and I proceeded to have committees appointed from the three local unions I had organized to meet with the managers of these concerns, which was done at the next meeting, with the result that the men received an increase in wages of 10 per cent. and a reduction of six hours for a week's work. The local unions, up to the present time, are in a good condition, increasing their membership weekly, and are receiving fairer treatment from their employers than ever before, and the members realize that this change of condition has been brought about through organization. This was the most strenuous month that I have ever experienced since being President of the organization, owing to the fact that during that time the street car men of that city were out on strike and it became necessary to walk from one meeting hall to another, all of them being miles apart, one in Brooklyn, the other on the upper side of East New York, and the other in Jersey City. As one of the managers had termed it, in addressing me, he said the town was full of walking delegates, and I was compelled to agree with his remarks, knowing the distance I had covered on foot.

I also appeared before the Connecticut State Federation of Labor, who were holding their convention in Hartford, Conn. This convention was largely attended, and in addition to speaking before them I distributed literature, and addressed several of the local unions while in that city.

Continued on page 12



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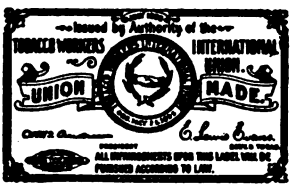

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

LABOR'S CONFERENCE.

The American Labor Movement established for itself a new era in its relations to the affairs of Government at the conference held in Washington on March 12, which will go down in history as a movement of the utmost importance to the people as a whole of the United States, their Government, and particularly to the workers who are the producers and the principal bearers of the burden of Government.

There were assembled at the conference, by call of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., the representatives of the International Unions affiliated, and the Railroad Brotherhoods who were not affiliated, acting as a unit, mapping out a plan for the position of Labor in the eventuality of war. War! that terrible scourge of which Labor bears the greatest part. The subject was discussed for many hours, all phases of Labor's relations were debated in secret session which began in the morning and ended late in the evening, and the result was the adoption of the following, which is a general plan or outline of the attitude of Labor organized in the United States, which was later communicated to President Wilson, the Government, and the people of the United States. Sucsh a position has never before been taken by Organized Labor in any other country and will stand as marking an epoch in the history of our great Labor Movement of this time, and handed down to posterity:

STATEMENT OF CONFERENCE.

We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represent the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished.

Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision,

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bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employes, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part.

Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contribution to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, wholehearted co-operation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hinderances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the co-operation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organ-

ized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

LABOR FOR HUMAN WELFARE.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

JUSTICE IS FUNDAMENTAL.

The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford its greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective co-operation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must co-operate with wage-earners.

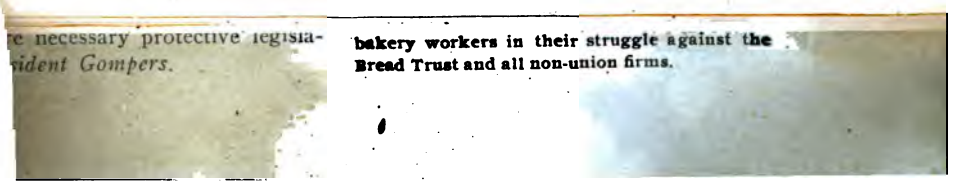
Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service, should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize, that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed



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down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

MENACE OF MILITARISM.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the State from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with the masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made against military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government co-operate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies for national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their rights to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

DEMOCRACY VERSUS AUTOCRACY.

The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of

other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

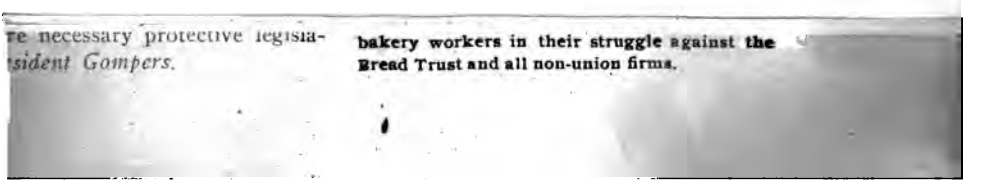
REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT.

Continued from page 7

I then proceeded to the International Office to take up the unfinished work that had accumulated during my absence, and while at the office I received a telegram from Mr. Tracy requesting me to represent the department at the Ohio State Federation of Labor, which was convening in Toledo, O. I addressed this convention on the subject of "Union Labels and the General Labor Movement," and was well received, this being my home State. This was also one of the largest conventions ever held by the Ohio State Federation of Labor. The convention was also addressed by Mr. Grant Hamilton, organizer of the A. F. of L., and Mr. Rubin, attorney for the Iron Moulders' International Union. A great deal of humane legislation for the toilers of this great commonwealth was adopted by the convention, and which no doubt will be enacted into laws on the statute books of Ohio, as the newly-elected legislators are friends of organized labor.

From Toledo I proceeded to Memphis, Tenn., to instruct and advise the members of Local No. 134, who had been recently organized by Mr. Evans, our International Secretary, when I was in the city of New York organizing the cigarette workers. Those people are employed by the American Snuff Company, another subsidiary, and being unable to stand any longer the conditions imposed upon them, they went out on strike, demanding increased wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. The strike had been in progress more than one week, with the result that some of the people were arrested and put in jail for violating the peace, but were immediately released through the efforts of organized labor in that city. They became organized and affiliated with our International Union, and returned to work with increased wages, shorter hours and better working conditions.

During the month of November I attended the convention of the Union Label Trades Department, which was prior to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I attended the lat-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bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

ter convention as a delegate from the Cincinnati Labor Council, the report of which was published in the January issue of the Tobacco Worker, consequently unnecessary to repeat.

During the month of December Mr. Evans and myself arrived in New York and addressed the newly-formed Locals Nos. 135, 136 and 137. All of those meeting were largely attended, showing that the membership is taking an active part in making their local a success, and a great deal of this is due to the untiring efforts of the President of Local No. 135, Ed Vandervorth and John Valis, the Financial Secretary, and the same might be said of Brother Noble, President of Local No. 137, and Philip Alfano, the Financial Secretary. This local union gave a ball, or a racket, as they term it in the East, which was a huge success. Mr. Evans and I were invited, and we spent a very pleasant evening. An editorial of this evening's entertainment was published in one of our recent journals. We also addressed the Advisory Board of Locals Nos. 83, 98 and 100 of that city, and the old standbys of those local unions, Sheines, Matlin, Tigel, Bock, Gidoney, Barizally and Berman, endeavored to make our visit as pleasant as possible during our short stay.

During holiday week I was requested to go to Indiana Harbor, Indiana, to organize a new factory, who had started to manufacture cigarettes in that city. On my arrival there I found about six people who were empolyed, and initiated them as members into our organization, and also signed agreements for the use of the Union Label and a wage scale for the ensuing year with the manufacturer. The few days following I spent at home with my family.

I left Cincinnati December 31st to attend the Tennessee State Federation of Labor, which convened in Nashville on

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All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

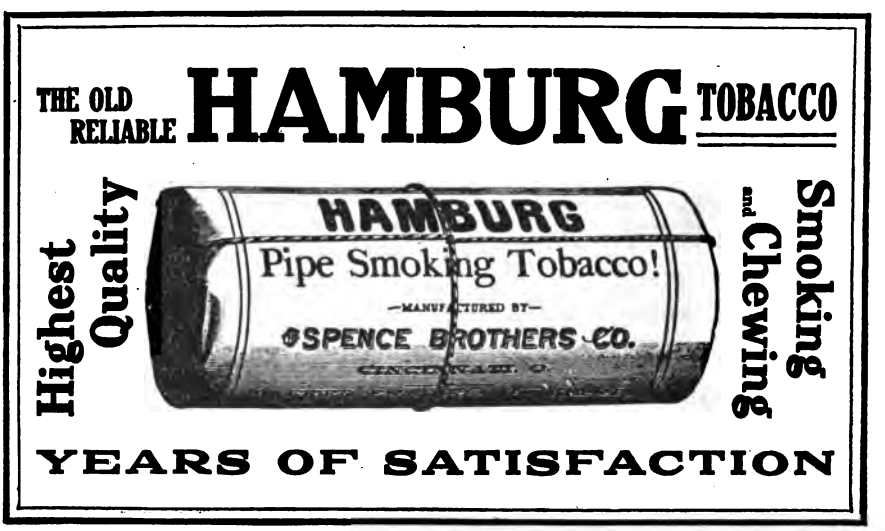
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

January 1, 1917. This convention was one of the largest ever held in the history of the State Federation. I addressed the convention on the general labor movement, "Union Labeled Products and the Patronage of Store Cards and Buttons," and also had the committee on labels to bring in recommendations pledging each delegate to report back to their locals when they arrived home, and urged a better demand for Union Labeled shop cards and buttons in the future. I also addressed several local unions during my stay in the city. Several other representatives of labor also addressed the convention, among them being Jerome Jones, of Atlanta, Ga.; J. Shanessey and L. Gamble, representing the Kentucky State Federation of Labor as a fraternal delegate.

I then proceeded to Memphis to attend a meeting of Local No. 134, which was poorly attended, owing to the fact that a thunderstorm had taken place early in the evening, making it impossible for the girls to attend, having such long distances to travel on the street cars.

The Executive Board of the Union Label Trades Department were to hold their meeting in New York City on the 27th, so I proceeded there and participated in the meetings of that Board, and had the pleasure of attending the testimonial dinner given in the honor of Mr. Samuel Gompers of the fiftieth anniversary of his marriage and as an active participant in organized labor for the cause of humanity. Some twelve hundred guests were seated at tables, and numerous telegrams of regret were read. Particularly, those I would mention, as coming from Mr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, and one from each individual member of the Cabinet, and many others from numerous officials of labor, too numerous to mention. My time being limited, only having three days to stay in that city, I proceeded to Hamilton, Ontario, and met with some of the members of Local No. 48 of our organization, and held a conference with the manager of the Tuckett Tobacco Company in reference to putting the label on each package of tobacco they manufactured. In the organization of this concern, some years ago, they had placed the union label on each package of tobacco manufactured, but under the new management, for the sake of economy, as they term it, they have adopted the plan



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of merely putting a label on the box or carton. This had taken place about one year ago, and since that time there has been a steady decrease in the output of this establishment, and I informed them in the conference that, in my opinion, it was due to the withdrawal of the label on each individual package, as they themselves admitted that they had received numerous complaints from labor organizations throughout the Dominion of Canada.

I arrived in Detroit a few days later and met with the officers of No. 13, taking up some of the problems that they were up against in that city, and also with Mr. Scotten, of the Scotten-Dillon Tobacco Company; Mr. Bagley, of the John J. Bagley Tobacco Company, and Mr. McHie, of the McHie-Scotten Tobacco Company. They seemed to be in a far worse position than those in the East and Southern factories, owing to the embargo on freight by the railroad companies and the scarcity of labor in that city. The wage scale of our local union in that city is proportionately high, but notwithstanding this fact it is almost impossible to get the required help in the manufacture of tobacco, and none of those manufacturers are optimistic for the future, owing to those conditions and the increased cost of ingredients in the manufacture of tobacco.

In passing through Toledo on my way to the West Virginia State Federation of Labor I addressed the Central Labor Union of that city, this being one of the most progressive Central Bodies in the country. A strike of the Telephone Operators and Electricians was on at that time and a number of their members were enjoined through injunction proceedings, and they were receiving the financial and moral support of organized labor and the Central Body of that city, and from present indications it looks as though they will win out in this colossal corporation, the Telephone Trust.

I proceeded from Toledo to Charleston, W. Va., to address the West Virginia State Federation of Labor. I took as my subject "The General Labor Movement: The Union Label, Shop Card and Button," and I believe I left an impression upon the delegates, and had the label committee to bring in recommendations to that effect. Local No. 2 of Wheeling, W. Va., sent two delegates to that convention, Brothers Henry Kloss and Ross Taylor, the latter being appointed to the important position as chairman of the label committee. They also introduced resolutions pertaining to the Tobacco Workers' Label, which was adopted by the convention, and assisted me in distributing calendars and literature to the delegates throughout the city. Those two delegates were important factors for the success of this convention, and

STRONGHOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

Local No. 2 should be proud of them. The convention adjourned in a body to attend the hearings before the legislature on the Model Injunction Bill that was introduced by Mr. Rosenbloom, a member of the legislature, who is friendly to organized labor. The bill was reported out of the committee favorably, but during our stay in that city it was referred to the judiciary committee of the legislative body. I look to see some remedial legislation, through the interest of the toilers of this great commonwealth, at the present session of the legislature.

In conclusion let me say that I hope I have not overtaxed the indulgence of the membership by this lengthy report, but I wish to assure you that if we are going to be progressive and be ranked as one of the progressive organizations of the American Labor Movement, we must continually keep up this agitation for the label of our craft, and in reciprocation thereof insist upon the patronage of union labels of other crafts, patronizing only such stores that display the Union shop and demanding the Union button of other organizations, and we will receive the support of the rank and file of oragnized labor, which will make the world a brighter and happier place to live in for ourselves and those who may come after us. Respectfully submitted,

A. McANDREW.

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THIS International Union Made (REGISTERED) **LABEL**

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The Best Chew *The Greatest Seller*

Made from the Highest Grade Tobacco

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It is UNION MADE—every package bears the Union Label

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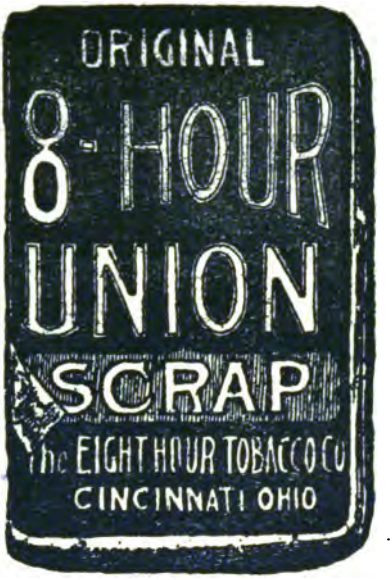

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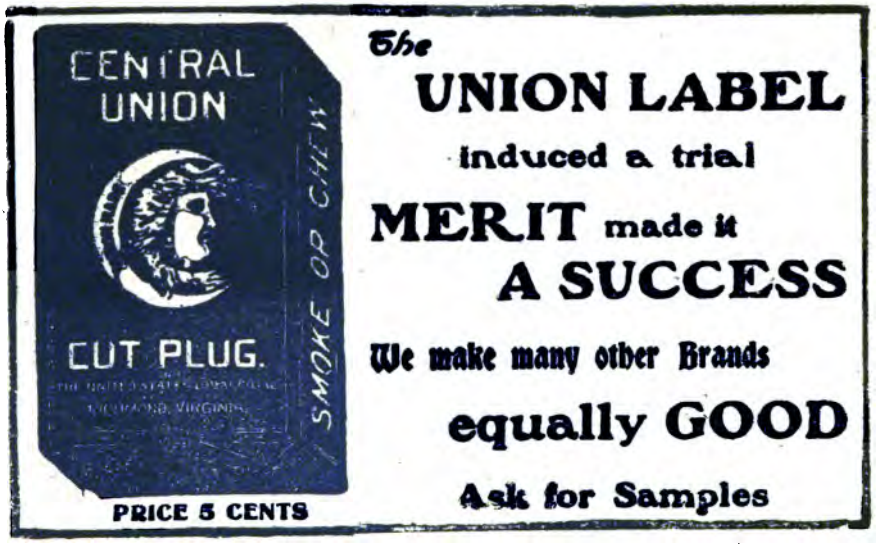

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LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

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LABOR OPPOSED TO CONSCRIPTION

WASHINGTON, April 17. — Democratic institutions and methods are gradually drifting toward autocracy and bureaucracy under the stress of war conditions, for military officials and their votaries, under any form of government, display an inordinate thirst for power. Under the pretext of military necessity the fundamental principles of freedom, held so sacred by the American people, are in danger of being swept away. In this gigantic struggle between nations, involving over 900,000,000 people, or approximately two-thirds of the world's population, the equilibrium of all governments is being shattered by international derangement.

With the entrance of the United States into the tornado of conflict the latent forces of American militarism are seeking control upon the plea of national defense and bid fair to transform what democracy we now enjoy into a huge military autocracy. Extreme military sentiments are developing among the members of Congress and the committees. In sharp contrast to the attitude of congresses previous to the declaration that a state of war existed between this country and Germany, there is now being evinced a war spirit which threatens to not only submerge, but to destroy those principles of government which have become a tradition of the American people.

Committees of Congress, from time immemorial, have thrown their committee rooms open to the public and invited expressions of opinion upon every contemplated piece of legislation. In fact, there has been such wide latitude accorded as to obstruct and delay the passage of remedial and necessary legislation.

War, with its withering influence, has worked a change so marked and convulsive as to stagger ability to comprehend the transition. The Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives held daily secret sessions for over a week with representatives of the military establishments of the government. During this period it is known that the subject of conscriptions was the most important matter under discussion, but no one was allowed within the precincts of the Military Affairs committee room save the committee and those representing the military arm of the government.

A demand was made by the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor for an opportunity to appear before the committee and present the attitude of the American labor movement upon conscription. The demand was finally granted. Other persons not identified with organized labor were also accorded an opportunity to appear before the committee. Unlike on former occasions, however, the committee hearings were held behind closed doors. Only one individual at a time was permitted to enter the committee room to express an opinion or present an argument against conscription, neither was the press

afforded an opportunity to disseminate the statements of those who appeared before the committee.

In light of the fact that the interests of the entire nation are involved in the question of conscription the proceedings are the most remarkable of any occurrence in legislative annals since the foundation of our government.

With the opportunity afforded, President Gompers presented to the Military Affairs Committee the attitude of the organized labor movement, which is opposed to conscription. His statement was succinct and vigorous, and was as follows:

"The organized labor movement has always been fundamentally opposed to compulsion. It has maintained that institutions and relations of a free people can and should be based upon the voluntary principle. It now maintains that what has been the directing basic principle in industrial organization and service must be the initial basic principle in the military. The declaration unanimously adopted by the representatives of the entire organized labor movement of the United States is based upon this adherence to the voluntary principle.

"It has been the hope of the men and women of labor that if this Republic should inevitably be drawn into active participation in the present world conflict that the Republic of the United States might demonstrate to the world that free institutions and ideals are effective and sufficient in war as well as in peace.

"It is the hope of organized labor to demonstrate that under voluntary conditions and institutions the Republic of the United States can mobilize its greatest strength, resources and efficiency.

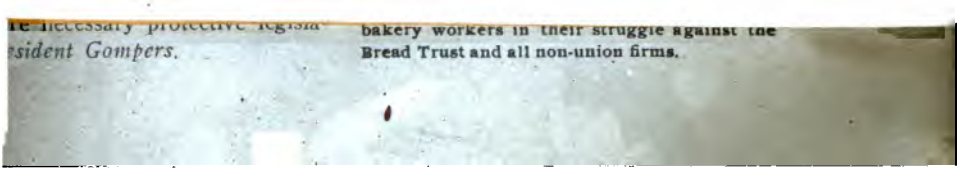
"We know that only under voluntary institutions can the nation mobilize good will. Good will is essential to enthusiastic and effective united action.

"The labor movement stands firmly by the voluntary principle. We declare that at no time have voluntary institutions been given a real effective and conclusive test Until such a test shall have been given there is no good reason for abandoning the principle which was born of the spirit of 1776 and which has enabled us to establish the ideals and the traditions that have given this Republic meaning as a country, free, efficient and capable of meeting any condition or emergency."—*By Grant Hamilton, Legislative Committeeman A. F. of L.*

ORGANIZED COLLECTIVE ACTION IS THE SAFETY OF WORKERS.

The individual who does not recognize that his problems of living are identified with those of his fellows has missed the key to the solution of his problems. Unaided, he can accomplish but little in a field where collective effort is the basis for all effective action. Employers, directors of enterprises, join together for organized assistance to each other. Co-operation on the managerial side, the large scale organization of industry and commerce, have made the condition of unorganized workers intolerable. Workers as individuals have been economically and mentally enervated. Only by presenting united opposition have they been able to maintain themselves as human beings. Although the Roman soldiers marching singly found it impossible to go against an enemy in strongly fortified cities, they could advance with safety marching shoulder to shoulder under the protection of a testudo formed by overlapping their shields. So organized collective action is the safety of workers dependent upon employers for an opportunity to earn a livelihood.

Regardless of the kind of work they do, wherever workers have learned organization they have been able to protect themselves and to secure better conditions. Haphazard, planless conditions are never conducive to progress. Organization enables the group to put driving force behind their demands and ideals.



Thus many so-called unskilled workers receive higher pay than those following professional or semi-professional callings.

Unorganized workers find themselves helpless when confronted by a period of transition. Protection comes only through definite group action in accord with constructive policies—a condition impossible without organization. So, when the European cataclysm enveloped the whole world, in the reaction following came congestion in commerce and an abrupt cessation of the arts of peace. Industry and commerce in this country were choked. It is an ancient custom to make wage earners bear the brunt of industrial reactions in the form of unemployment, falling wages and higher prices.

Organized workers can act as a unit in protest against lower wages—by protest they act as a stabilizing force and prevent impulsive destruction and waste. Organized workers under war conditions have not only resisted reduction of wages and deterioration of conditions, but have secured increased wages and shorter hours.

When danger of war becomes imminent for our own country among the first suggestions for "preparedness" were proposals to tear down all the protective measures secured by labor after years of struggle. Members of Congress proposed to repeal the eight hour law and to deny the right to strike. Again the organized labor movement interposed protest to protect the workers.

Those who have suffered from war conditions and prices have been the unorganized or the poorly organized. They have had no leverage which would give them power to increase wages, and increased prices forced them to reduce their standard of living.

Another transition period is coming when the world returns to a peace footing. Organization is the only agency by which the people can meet and solve the problems of that period. Constructive organization, co-ordination, whether industrial or international, is the fundamental principle of preparedness for peace or war.—*Samuel Gompers.*

BRUTAL ANTAGONISM OF COLORADO COAL OPERATORS HAS FAILED; ORGANIZED MINERS "CAPTURE" ROCKEFELLER'S STRONGEST ALLY.

DENVER COL., April 7.—The Victor-American Fuel Company has signed a three-year union shop agreement with the United Mine Workers' Union. Ten mines in this State and two in New Mexico are affected.

During the miners' strike of 1913-14 the Victor-American was a close second to Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel and Iron Company for an unparalleled bitterness and savagery against organizer miners. If a union miner was discovered in any Victor-American camp the thug system of this corporation made short work of one who dared to raise his voice in protest.

It took lion-hearted men in those days to hold aloft the banner of trade unionism, but despite Ludlow, the State militia, a venal governor, a cowed legislature, business men's associations, hordes of private detectives, gunmen, strikebreakers, and a muzzled public press, the workers battled against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, the Victor-American Coal Company and their allies.

After the strike ended the operators continued their persecution by indicting hundreds of strikers who were tried by a judge who was a former attorney for the coal operators and who was appointed by Governor Carlson after the legislature had created a special district for the appointee.

To add to the miners' troubles, Rockefeller organized a "union" and visited the homes of his employes, to the great delight of that portion of the public press that ignored constitutional outrages.

Despite these forces, the miners stuck to their organization and began laying plans for the future. As part of this strategy, international officers took charge of affairs, moved headquarters of this district from Denver and decided to organize one company at a time. The success of this plan is shown in the agreement with the Victor-American, which imposed more strenuous opposition to the return to work of union men after the strike than did any of the other companies.

The agreement provides for the Colorado and New Mexico miners to receive the increase in wages that may be secured by the miners of Illinois, Kansas, and Oklahoma in their next joint conference with operators. The agreement expires March 31, 1920, thus bringing it in line with the interstate agreement of the central competitive fields.

It is stated that when certain financial interests discovered the Victor-American was negotiating with the union, these parties forgot their boasted principle of "having the right to run your own business" and applied every pressure to block a settlement.

Another feature of this epoch-making event was the complete ignoring of the State Industrial Commission in the negotiations. Under the law no wage movement can be negotiated without giving the commission 30 days' notice. While the law does not apply in this case the fact that the miners and operators refused to consult the commission in arranging their own affairs is significant.

The Rockefeller "union" receives a hard blow by the Victor-American deciding to negotiate with the bona fide union rather than attempt to fool its employes with a company-managed organization.

Employes of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (Rockefeller's company) will undoubtedly reject this company "union" in the very near future. They are openly announcing that they are members of the United Mine Workers' Union and are pointing to the failure of representation without economic power and the futility of meetings controlled by direct representatives of the company.

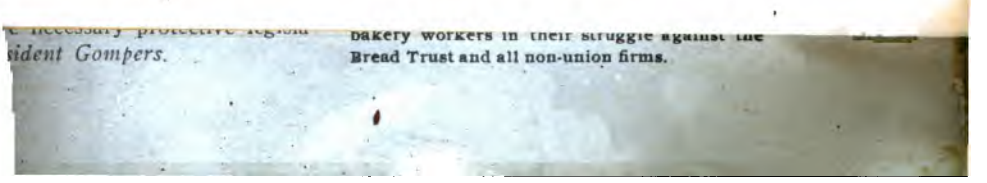
Summed up, the situation for organized miners in Colorado was never brighter, and these workers are predicting that it is only a question of a short time until their persistence and their agitation will have to be formally recognized by the Rockefeller interests.

SIGNIFICANCE OF LABORS HOLIDAY

Labor Day, one of the "youngest" of the holidays, is as near a national holiday as any of them, as it is recognized by law in every State of the Union with the exception of Louisiana, and in that State in New Orleans parish only. Though more generally celebrated in cities and industrial centers, of late years the first Monday in September has come to be quite well known as a holiday in the smaller towns and rural communities.

The day is set aside as a day of rest and recreation in honor of the men who toil, and Labor's own day—not alone for the union labor man, but for every laborer. By common consent, the formal recognition of the day is given over to the men of organized labor in most cities, but citizens generally, without regard to union affiliations, have more and more come to observe Labor Day.

The "dignity of labor" sounds well from the rostrum, but the men and women who do the world's work and produce the world's wealth are rapidly learning that their dignity, as well as their happiness, depends upon their insistence on a more equitable distribution of the products of their toil; they have learned that the only way to secure anything like a fair division is by organized effort, through banding together in unions for the raising of wages and the shortening of the hours of toil. Through such organized effort they have raised the standard of living for every worker, but the struggle is eternal, and will never cease until all who toil have joined the



ranks of those who insist on the right to a voice in their own welfare, a right to dictate the price of their own labor, their share in the wealth of what their toil produces. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that to the men of organized labor the holiday observed on the first Monday in September has most significance—that Labor Day has a meaning that cannot be appreciated by those who do not realize what the unions have accomplished and are accomplishing for the workers of the world.

President Gompers, the "grand old man" of the labor movement in America, points out that the American Federation of Labor has organized thousands of unions that have raised the wages of their members 100 per cent. since they were organized.

The organized coal miners last year secured an increase in wages of $8,000,000, and the organized metal miners got an increase in wages during the same time of over $4,000,000.

The organized men who work on the railroads repairing the tracks got a raise last year of $2,000,000.

The organized seamen got a raise last year of $1,030,000.

The organized men and women in he clothing industry secured a raise last year of over $2,000,000, and they have secured more increases this year, because their union is growing stronger.

These are only a few of the organizations that secured more wages, shorter hours and better working conditions. Every organization in the American Federation of Labor secured some benefit last year, and will get more this year.

But the non-union men and women are working for the same wages, except where they have been given a slight raise to keep them from joining a union.

Laborers in unorganized industries now receive $1.50 to $2.00 per day of ten and twelve hours each, while organized mechanics in these same industries receive $2.25 to $3.00 per day for ten and twelve hours.

Organized laborers in the coal mines average 2.62 per day for eight hours' work. Organized laborers employed in the construction of buildings average $3.00 per day for eight hours.

The wages given will be increased as the organizations of these men grow stronger and larger, and will never be decreased so long as the union is maintained.

Thus union labor feels a particular interest in Labor Day, and by a showing of their numbers and their pride in their organizations, they seek to make this day one to convey a lesson to those outside the ranks. Labor Day has a real meaning to them.

STRIKES DEFENDED.

Corporations Prone to Deal Unfairly With Their Employees.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York City, severely arraigned the railroad corporations at the recent hearing on the plan of Chairman Oscar S. Straus of the Public Service Commission to avert strikes. Dr. Wise was the chairman of the Citizens' Committee on Industrial Relations. He said that for years he has studied industrial problems and the possibility of increasing the democratization of the industries of America.

He said that in his judgment it was not as needful to guard against strikes as it was to safeguard the public interests through insistence that quasi-public industries should treat their employes fairly. Referring to the strike of street railway employes last summer, he expressed the opinion that the conditions under which the men worked before the strike were deplorable, that many of them had to work seven days a week to make a living and that all the time the men were subjected to the spy system, to threats and to intimidation by the corporations.

Dr. Wise did not think any system that would give the employers equal rights with the men in consideration of wages and hours of labor and conditions of labor would work out to the advantage of the men, because the corporations would always have present their own little organization of employes and would spy upon them, so that those spied upon would either have to yield to pressure or lose their jobs.

He suggested the formation of a board of men representing the public interests, whose duty it would be to study conditions under which the men worked and be ready at any time to furnish any official regulating body with complete information. He thought that in this way a determination of differences could be arrived at without danger of doing injustice. Dr. Wise made it clear that he doubted the disposition of the corporations to deal fairly with their employes. He said:

"The men must have the right to organize in independent and untrammeled fashion. I want to make it clear that I am thinking of those nice little safe pet organizations which Mr. Shonts and his associates control and keep in their vest pockets, those little organizations which are purchased and bribed and intimidated into battle against their fellows. Such organizations make impossible any genuinely democratic organization of the men."

LABOR IS KING OF MOTHER EARTH.

The Motive Force of Human Progress is in the Mighty Men of Toil.

On a man's birthday he should think seriously about himself, and especially about his weaknesses. Let his friends praise him and congratulate him; let him question and criticise himself.

It is intelligent study, criticism of ourselves that brings progress, whether to the individual or to a great class or to that which labor is—an overwhelming majority.

Everything that you see is the result of labor—from the skyscraper with its steel skeleton to the copper wire that carries your messages or the food that keeps you alive.

To compare the value of labor and capital is childish. There is no comparison possible.

Take all the gold, all that which we call wealth in the world, and it is absolutely nothing without labor to make it productive.

On the other hand, put labor naked on the earth, and soon it will do again what it has done in the past—cut the forests, drain the marshes, build the houses, and build civilization.

But the laborer of any kind who rejoices in his strength and who feels conceit proves his smallness, whether he be a laborer with pick and shovel, or a laborer working at a great scientific problem.

The thing for us to do is to remember our littleness, our shortcomings, and try, by giving full credit to others, to deserve credit for ourselves.

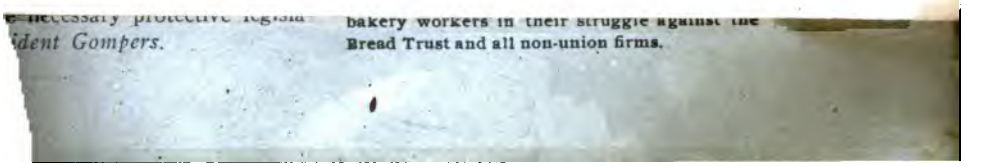
When you say truly that capital is a small thing compared to labor you add that the intelligence which controls capital is a very big thing.

Labor, it is true, represents the great strength of the world. The capital, let workingmen remember, represents superior intelligence and cunning—that which conquers and rules.

Weight and strength alone are little. The great monsters have died off, disappeared. Small, more intelligent animals remain.

The intelligent laboring man does not look with contempt upon capital or on the man who has had the intelligence to acquire capital.

He says, on the contrary, "that man has done what I would have done if I had been able to do it. The fact that he is the owner of capital proves that he or his father had the intelligence to do that which I could not do. He had superior


necessary protective legisla-
dent Gompers.
bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

mental power, or greater self-control that enabled him to save, or greater cunning that enabled him to outwit others. However, he did it, he managed with his mind to get that which I have not been able to get, and I shall not prove my smallness by endeavoring to belittle him."

There are two things in the world, labor and intelligence, and intelligence is infinitely superior.

Every workingman knows this, for the more intelligent the workingman the better the pay and the better the prospect. —Ex.

JOINT AGREEMENTS BETTER THAN LAW.

ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, April 7.—Under the caption "Labor and the Law," the *Daily Herald* intimates that collective bargaining is a more effective method of settling disputes between employer and employe than courts of law and other governmental institutions.

"Wages boards and industrial courts have been established for the purpose of amicably arranging matters," says this paper, "but it is a notorious fact that instead of decreasing they have increased the troubles in the industrial field.

"According to the deputy president of the local arbitration court, the employers are puzzled through not knowing for certain what particular wages board determination they are expected to obey, and meanwhile if they happen to err through ignorance they are liable to be penalized. On the other hand the employes seek blindly for means of settling disputes on a basis of stability and are met at every turn by almost insurmountable barriers, chief among which are legal complications and heavy expenditures.

"In the opinion of many, however, legal arbitration at best is but a palliative, and the only safe remedy for or prevention of industrial disputes is a mutual arrangement in which the principle of collective bargaining is recognized and expressed in a trade agreement between the employer on the one side and employe on the other under the terms of which each respects the rights of the other, and a method of settlement of all differences is provided. When mutual distrust is replaced by confidence between employers and employes a system of co-operative effort will be the order of the day. The first consideration would then be human rights, and there would be no need for reference to arbitration courts or any other legal tribunal."

OUR FIRST LABOR STRIKE.

The first labor strike in America occurred in Philadelphia 120 years ago, when 300 shoemakers quit work and refused to return until their employers had granted their demand for increased wages. After this successful struggle there were no further important demonstrations of the solidarity of labor until 1848, when a great strike of weavers was declared in Fall River, marking the beginning of the long series of labor troubles in industrial New England.

The first railroad strike was declared in 1877. The use of this weapon did not become widely prevalent until the period from 1888 to 1893, when there was a great number of important strikes in the United States and Canada. In 1892 the industrial and transportation world was convulsed by six great strikes, including the one at Homestead, Pa., and two railway strikes. Fully 100,000 men were affected by the railroad strike of 1894, originating with the employes of the Pullman company.

A big strike of Western Pennsylvania coal miners began in 1884, and since then strikes have been of frequent occurrence in the mining districts of North America.

Are you a cardholder or a union man? Did you ever stop to think of the difference? There is a great difference. What is it?

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

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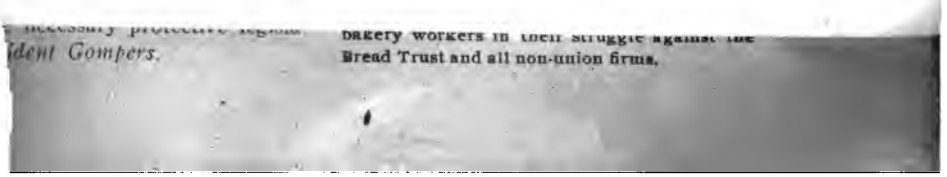
Editorial.

From whence comes the sentiment voiced by so many that we should have a permanent governmental requirement of compulsory military training? Pages are being devoted to it, urging the adoption of such a policy; arguments, giving all sorts of reasons, are being put forth; some are being paid for from mercenary reasons; some think themselves convinced on short notice and shorter thought that it is a good thing, and the United States should have a standing army of millions. Are we not going into this conflict in direct opposition to an established militarist spirit and creating a force that will put this iniquitous thing out of business in the shortest possible time, and then return to the earning of a livelihood upon a settled peace basis? If this is the spirit that has moved us to enter this conflict, why then should we advocate the establishment of the very thing we are now seeking to destroy? The militarilly mind might be excused in his advocacy of such a thing, as it may be a matter of pride with him to have the largest number of military units under his command. The expense of the thing is nothing to him. All he sees is the army, and his ambition is to bring it to the highest state of efficiency. Another element strongly supporting a large standing army are the radicals in the employing class who hope to keep their employed labor in subjection to their will and to assist them in their repressive greedy policies. They want a standing army subject to their call at any time they need this arm of force.

We are in perfect accord with the policy advanced by President Wilson and his desire that the army shall be recruited to adequate strength to meet any emergency in this present case, and we believe his desire is to disperse the army after its usefulness in suppressing militarism, now in its oppressive state, only leaving an establishment at a normal peace basis.

The militarist class, however, are leaving no stone unturned to force the establishment of a fixed policy of universal military training and keep alive a spirit that the world is now fighting so hard to eradicate.

It would be a terrible mistake for us to come out of this European conflict embued with the spirit we entered it to kill. We are now challenging militarism with all its horribleness. Let us hope we do not become inoculated by contact with it.



Those who are keeping up with legislation have noted that the pinhead politicians who have succeeded in election to the important office of a legislator have passed into law much legislation that measures up to the standard of the littleness of the legislator and not to the bigness of what should be expected. Statesmanship has had many a sad blow of late, but who is to blame? Nobody but "We, Us & Co."

Around election time we either give little attention to the caliber of men seeking our support and send low degree men to our capitals, or we pay no attention to the subject at all, with the result that we have before us every day, with the honor of statesmanship bedraggled and soiled, the politician who is allowed to do as he pleases without check, and with a few feeble protests we keep on in the same old way.

North Dakota last year woke up to the drift of things suddenly and at the election last fall upset the machine, driving the pinhead politicians out of the hall and put in men who represented something other than the narrow-guage, selfish schemer, who had become *persona-non-grata.*

The farmers decided that the brain for political and public good was not all contained in a few State politicians and two-by-four lawyers. They wanted a business administration; something that they could expect something from. They organized and went out after it—and got it.

Pennsylvania has turned over a few leaves, too, the trade unions have about forty union men as legislators in their legislature this year. They are meeting with success, too, in the measures that are coming up for discussion and passage.

It is to be hoped that these two instances of revolt against rotten politics may be an index of what is rumbling through the think-boxes of the people who have stood for so much misrepresentation during these many years.

What the people want—and the trade unionists form a large part of the "people"—is constructive legislation; something that has some expansion service to it; something that will relieve a congestion of legal verbiage without any tune, tone or digestion to it, and they can get it if they so will it, but they will never get it by sleeping on the job, and letting the pinhead politicians leave them at the post. If the farmers in one state have wakened up and the trade unionists have wakened up in another, and have done some things worth while, why can it not be done in other states? All we have to do is to wake up to our condition, assert our rights and act as live wires, and we can get anything we go after. Put new burrs with sharp teeth in the political mill and the result will be some wholesome, constructive and desirable legislation.

The dominant forces in the legislatures will carry the day, and it is our duty to see that the dominant forces represent the people with a result, that representatives of predatory interests are relegated to the limbo of disgraced politicaldom.

The Tobacco Workers in Middletown, Ohio, have organized under Charter No. 138, it having been found that to accomplish anything of a permanent character for the betterment of economic and industrial welfare there must be a concentration of interest and power of many units acting as one, having elected a central force that will speak for the whole, ample proof having been established that the single unit (one of the workers) making a demand for an improved condition or an increase in wages is as futile as throwing a bucket of water on a burning house in the hope of putting the fire out.

The ever-increasing cost of living has lowered the purchasing power to such an extent that wages received in the factory where the Tobacco Workers were employed would not meet the daily needs,

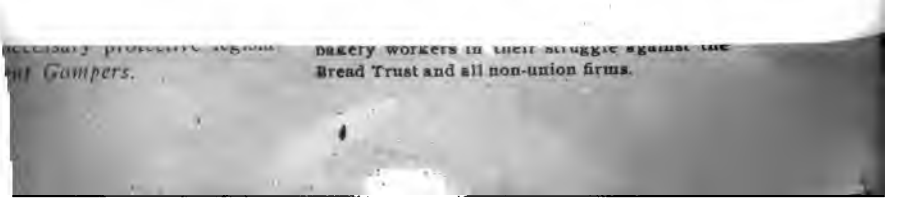
grocery bills were hard to meet, requests for increase in wages were given no attention, and the situation became such that it demanded heroic action and thorough organized effort. The protest was one of unity, all employes leaving their work at the same time. After several meetings a union was formed and demands formulated and presented through a chosen committee. After several conferences a compromise agreement was effected, giving a substantial increase all around, though not what was originally asked, but it helps very materially in meeting ever-ascending cost of living essentials. One of the chief lessons learned in the whole operation was, that it proved what a concerted action through a union in the spirit of unity can accomplish when the workers make up their minds to so act. The new union has had several meetings since its temporary formation, and has now entered permanent organization with their charter outfit, and have started out to further profit from their decision to act along lines of unity and complete the organization now launched.

The following is the list of the officers elected for the ensuing term: President, Calvin Harless; Vice-President, Lulu Day; Recording Secretary, Flo Stacy; Financial Secretary-Treasurer, Thomas Regan; Guide, Charles Skipper; Sergeant-at-Arms, Ray Du Hamel.

The Yunker class in Uncle Sam's domain who look upon Labor as the dirty overalled and sleeve-rolled units of society, who should at all times be subjects for exploitation and service, will find before this war is over and also during the reconstruction days that organized labor at least is not without brains, and brains of a good, healthy character, with virility and originaltity of thought, and concepts and powers to shape thought and frame it into activity. The predatory classes in all countries have much the same ends in view in all agencies they control; those of this country have been trying to console themselves with the hope that with the country plunged into war the attention of the people would be withdrawn from some of the measures of oppression and reconstruction which organized labor has heretofore, by watchful care, successfully checkmated in the various State Houses of Legislation, and also our National Legislative halls. They hope during these stressful times, by the most innocently appearing measures, to tie organized labor's hands. We will not say they will do it, but we will say that when they have done it they will know that they have done it, and also know that the satisfaction to be gained from the job is mythical in character. Labor is entitled to its share of production, and while it does not expect to attain its objective during this generation, those of this generation expect to plant the flag of progress as far into the land as it possibly can and let the next take it up and continue theonward march. The success or failure of the progress made by each generation is one of brains and energy. The present generation has not been without its successes and perhaps some failures, but, as a whole, success has the long side of the situation.

During the war crisis we are now passing through, which compels lessening of our energies in certain directions, we must be ever watchful to see that the other fellow by reason of our suspended action does not put something over that will retard our progress during the reconstruction days when labor may not be able to find employment as readily as it now does.

If some of those advocates of autocracy would put on their glasses and calm down to normal sensible thought, they would see that they are openly acknowledging that democracy is a failure and they are endeavoring to erect an oligarchy in its place. This is a time to be sensible in both thought and action.



It is to be hoped that in our impetuous haste in our entrance into this war maelstrom we do not over-shoot the most advisable limit. There are tremendous forces at work, one of which has been advocating as a thing of permanency the instrument we now are forming for the present emergency. Despite our strong democratic sentiments, we are not without a militarist class, who, after this emergency preparation is over, would saddle our democracy with a well-girdled militarist saddle and add to it a strong, stout bridle-rein with a bit to curb a free-willed horse. So in our spirit of generousness to help others dethrone autocracy and militarism, we should be as wise as serpents, and not allow ourselves to be inveigled into putting the autocratic horse in our own stable, perhaps of a different color, but a beast of the same breed just the same.

Much adverse comment has been indulged in against those, both in our legislative halls and out of them, who have opposed our being plunged into this European war; but on sober second thought it may be said that while some of the anti-warists have been extremists on the conservative side, on the whole we may find that the "air brake attachment" to our militarist train was not without its wholesome effect. As a people, we have a penchant to go the other fellow one better; a too free exercise of this spirit might lead us to intemperate action, which would involve us in costly errors, notwithstanding patriotic spirit and our desire to manifest it. It may be well that some of the people themselves have interposed restrictive influences instead of the government itself having to inject them.

We have amongst us extremists in both directions, which, if their policies either way were adopted as the policies of the government, chaos might be our portion; but with the opposing forces striving against each other, compromises of happy mediums are generally reached, and it is well.

The germ without a title as yet is abroad in the land. It is best seen in the attempt of one fellow trying to regulate the affairs of the other fellow, and may be later known as the Anti-Democracy Germ. Have you seen him as yet?

Do you observe that it is the unorganized workers who are accepting as wages, a bonus? The wages are not increased as in the cases of the organized, who have demanded and have received wage increases. Wage increases have a wire to them with the Boss holding tightly to the cut-off end of it, and when the war ceases, whether the cost of living lessens or not, snap will go the wire on the bonuses, and the poor dupes who stood for them will get the worst of it, as their bonus will be gone back to the employer's pocket and the employe will have to do the best he can for a time, after the close of the war, until things readjust themselves. Jobs will not be as easy to get as they are now and want will be in accordance therewith. The bonusless worker will see wherein the difference lies between a bonus and an increase in wages, the employer profits at both ends of the game, and the worker will say, "Well I'll be d———."

Labor having a representative on the Council of National Defense is not in accord with the sentiments of a class of Labor's opponents, as, in their opinion, Labor gets too much recognition and is being exalted and given a chance to prove the lie in the opponents' contentions. The excruciating part of it is, the fact that it is Organized Labor that is being given a chance to make its case in the world's court, and there is no artificial lawyer pleading the case.

From the sayings and actions of some people we know, see and hear, it would seem that the only patriots our country has are those who parade their patriotism and make the most noise about it. Past experience has abundant proof that the real patriots are not always the ones who do the most shouting.

LABOR INJUNCTION IN CUNNING SCHEME.

So Declares Victor Olander at Illinois Legislative Hearing.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—"Why do our enemies contend that injunctions are more effective than laws in the prevention of unlawful threats, intimidation and violence?" asked Secretary Olander of the State Federation of Labor at a legislative hearing on labor's request for an injunction limitation bill.

Then the trade unionist answered his question as follows:

"If they (employers) expressed their real opinions they would say frankly that violence can only be dealt with effectively through the law, and that violence is only referred to in labor injunctions for three purposes; first, to ease the conscience of the judge who issues the injunction; second, to prejudice the public mind against the strikers; third—and most sinister—for the purpose of breaking down all legal safeguards against false accusations and thus making it a simple matter to convict the innocent. I say that is the deliberate purpose of our enemies. Avoiding the direct charge of violence, which is a crime under the law, they substitute a charge of contempt of court, and thus they prevent trial by jury, obtain convictions on affidavits made by spies and professional strike-breakers, and deprive the accused striker of the safeguards against false accusation and unfair conviction with which the law surrounds even the meanest criminal. Conviction of the innocent becomes easy—that is why our enemies prefer to use the equity judge and his injunctions rather than to appear in the law court, where the law—not the judge—is supreme, and where a jury may pass on the guilt or innocence of the defendant.

A person charged with crime in a law court is assumed to be innocent until proven guilty. But the assumption is reversed in the equity court, where he is summoned to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt—in other words, he is assumed to be guilty until he perjures himself by proving innocence.

"We make the same complaint against the injunction judges as the early American patriots made against King George of England:

"'He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and acknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.'

"And among their indictments against the king we find the following:

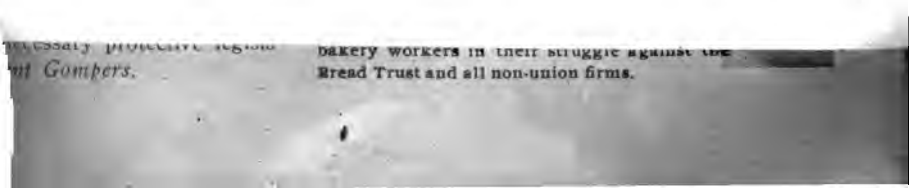
"'For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury.'"—Ex.

GOMPERS DID NOT URGE COMPULSORY TRAINING.

WASHINGTON, April 7.—Denial of the statement that he favored the Chamberlain bill, which provides for compulsory training, was made by President Gompers at a meeting of trade unionists and others, held in the interest of national defense in this city, last Monday.

President Gompers said:

"I want to say that the morning papers misquote me as to the Chamberlain bill, now before Congress. I have not said anything regarding the Chamberlain bill and the publication of statements that appear in the morning papers are calculated to do the cause of our meeting a great injustice and may make my work here less effective by such misrepresentation."



Trade unions are frequently referred to as a business concern in which every member is an equal partner. And this is absolutely true. The trade union is a co-partnership affair, and is the antithesis of a corporation. The latter is based upon an autocracy wherein the management and control is delegated to a board of directors who possess autocratic power, while the former is based upon a democracy wherein all power is reserved to the individual members comprising it.

The success of a corporation depends upon the successful selection of a directing hand, while the success of a co-partnership depends upon the intelligence and activity of each individual member constituting the co-partnership harmoniously blended and directed towards a given end. Without intelligent direction and harmony of effort democracy is a failure.

Trade unions are based upon democracy. They are voluntary associations of individuals having common interests. The success of a trade union depends upon the amount of energy put forth by each member, and to the same extent that one member shirks duty or fails to do his part, to that extent the whole union suffers. The union man who thinks he has fulfilled his obligation to his union when he pays his dues, never attends meetings or assists in the active work of the organization fails to get all the good there is in unionism.

No matter how good or how efficient the officers of a union may be, unless they have hearty support and fullest co-operation of all the members they cannot possibly secure for their union all the benefits that might be secured. It requires the active co-operation and united effort of all the members of a union to bring it to its highest possible efficiency.—*The Illinois Tradesman.*

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

TOMORROW.

He was going to be all that mortal should be
Tomorrow.
No one should be kinder or braver than he
Tomorrow.
A friend who was troubled and weary he knew,
Who'd be glad of a lift and who needed it, too,
On him he would call and see what he could do
Tomorrow.

Each morning he stacked up the letters he'd write
Tomorrow.
And thought of the folks he'd fill with delight
Tomorrow.
It was too bad, indeed, he was busy today,
And hadn't a minute to stop on his way;
More time he would have to give others, he'd say,
Tomorrow.

The greatest of workers this man would have been
Tomorrow.
The world would have known him had he ever seen
Tomorrow.
But the fact is he died and he faded from view,
And all that he left here when living was through
Was a mountain of things he intended to do
Tomorrow.

—Edgar Guest in Kansas City Star.

An archceologist has discovered that an oil trust and an egg trust existed in the first century and that Rome had labor unions in the time of St. Paul. It is some comfort to the optimistic to know that these troubles are not to be classed among modern improvements.

The simplified spelling board has decided to make no further recommendations of changes in spelling until those already put forth are more generally used, so that no further recommendations of changes are likely to be made for a considerable time.

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

...cure necessary protective legisla-
...resident Gompers.

...bakery workers in their struggle against the
...Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

JUDGE A DEFENDER OF TRADE UNIONISM.

DETROIT.—In defending the union shop at a public forum in this city, Judge Jefferies said:

"When last Sunday's speaker announced that we had progressed under the present system; that we had better wages, shorter hours and old age pensions, he was telling the truth, but I would like to ask, who are 'we?'

"I am convinced that all of this legislation has come through the pressure and influence of the workingman and without organized labor he could bring no pressure to bear.

"The speaker also declared that labor has a right to organize, but of what use is organization unless it has weapons with which it can sustain itself and do something? Is it merely to organize and look at itself or pass remarks about the weather? It must be equipped with some kind of power if it is to be of any use."

The chances are about ten to one that the man seen inspecting the window displays of fishing tackle will soon have his wife calling up the office stating that he has developed a sudden attack of malaria, and the doctor has ordered a rest.

DAME FORTUNE.

She caught me in a fond embrace
And waltzed me round from place to place.
I was her very own;
She gave to me her sweetest smile,
And bade me tarry yet awhile
With her alone.

Young men, and old, came night and day
But one and all she turned away—
By me she staid;
I thought my happiness supreme,
And fickleness I never dreamed
Of this sweet maid.

It seemed my cup of joy was filled,
And when she smiled my soul would thrill
With loving care;
But now whene'er I chance to see
This winsome maid, she passes me
With frigid stare!

—*C. F. Morgan.*

THE UNION LABEL.

There is a satisfaction in asking for an article bearing the union label that is not felt when you accept a non-union article on the clerk's advice that it is just as good. You know the statement is not true, but how many of us fall for bunk that the dealer uses so that he may not miss a sale?

STRONGHOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

You know when you see the union label on a purchase that no childish tears are woven into its fabric.

One special duty we owe ourselves is to see that the union label is on everything we buy with our wages, earned under a union wage scale.

UNION AND MERCHANTS.

What does a strong local labor movement mean to the merchant? Just this: It means that the wage worker has enough to spend for the necessaries and some luxuries in life, a twenty-five dollar suit instead of a ten dollar one, a three dollar hat instead of a fifty cent one, better furniture at home with other comforts, good seats at the theaters and a little saved against future debt accumulation. A poorly paid non-union worker is brother to the pauper—that is, he is a poor customer at best, even if he can remain honest and pay his debts.

WAGE ADJUSTMENT.

I am familiar with the Canadian compulsory act, and I want to say that it has not only failed of its purpose—the prevention of strikes—but has engendered considerable antagonism against those in charge of the machinery of the law. What is actually happening in Canada is that the Lemieux law is being disregarded in labor disputes, and voluntary mediation is generally resorted to by both sides.

Moreover, I am against the section of your proposed plan which would leave to the wage board the adjustment of wages. That is a matter for the employer and employe to settle.—*Hugh Frayne.*

It is just about as feasible to try to arrest the movement of the sun as to try to crush out unionism. It simply can't be done.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Made LABEL (REGISTERED)

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Smoke Union Labeled Tobacco
Cigarettes and Snuff
These Brands Are Union Made and Bear the Union Label:

Tobacco	Cigarettes	Snuff
Kotton, Mino, Kane, True Friends, Black Eye, Peoples Va. Extra	Kotton, Mino, True Friends, Peoples Va. Extra	Macouba Fine Snuff Virginia Half-Course Snuff

All Made in a Union Shop By the

Peoples Tobacco Co. 429 Julia Street, New Orleans, La.

...dent Gompers.

...bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Volume 21 May, 1917 Number 5

The TOBACCO WORKER

Official Magazine
of the
Tobacco Workers' International Union

Rooms 50-1-2-3 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.

JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

NOW ON SALE

For UNION MEN and Friends of Union Labor.

Made in Cincinnati and in the only factory in the country which has adopted the eight-hour working day.

THE
EIGHT-HOUR TOBACCO CO.

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

The
UNION LABEL
induced a trial
MERIT made it
A SUCCESS
We make many other Brands
equally GOOD
Ask for Samples

secure necessary protective legisla-
—*President Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

HARVARD COLLEGE
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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 MAY, 1917 No. 5

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

SECRETARY WILSON'S VIEW.

Recently the Council of National Defense issued a statement urging that standards obtaining in industry should not be disturbed until such a time as an emergency arose which, in the opinion of the Council of National Defense, demanded changes. Even should an emergency arise no changes were advised except upon specific recommendations by the Council of National Defense. Immediately there began a campaign of misinterpretation and an attempt by unfair employers to break down existing standards and labor laws. Organized labor has resisted this attempt and will resist to the uttermost the Gradgrinds who assume there is an opportunity afforded by war conditions to strike a heavy blow at union labor.

A few days ago a conference was held in the Department of Labor at which were present Secretary of Labor Wilson, Secretary of Commerce Redfield, President John Williams of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Vice-President Larkin of the same association, James Sullivan, assistant to Samuel Gompers of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and Grant Hamilton, representing the American Federation of Labor.

The subject of the conference was the general labor situation in the steel industry, with particular reference to strikes then in progress. The attitude of the Council of National Defense was reiterated by Secretary Wilson, and he being a member of the Council his statement is official. The secretary, addressing President Williams of the Steel Workers, said:

"The Council of National Defense takes this position, that the standards that have been established by law, by mutual agreement or by custom should not be changed at this time; that where either the employer or the employe has been unable under normal conditions to change the standards to their own liking, they should not take advantage of the present abnormal conditions to establish new standards. Among those standards is the standard of living. The Council of National Defense recognized the fact that the standard of living is an indefinite standard, difficult to determine; that it is almost entirely dependent upon the rate of wages retaining the same purchasing power. If the wages received will not purchase as much, then the standard of living is lowered. If the wages received will purchase more, then the standard of living is increased. Because of the indefiniteness of the standard of living and the maintaining of it at the same point, the Council recognizes the fact that from time to time disputes will arise as to what is necessary to maintain that standard of living, but it feels that before any stoppage of work takes place in any industry in which the Government is interested for the maintenance of safety that the established agencies of

the Government should be given an opportunity to use their good offices to bring about an adjustment of the impending dispute.

"Now, there is only point aside from the wage question in which your organization is especially interested in connection with standards, and that is the question of recognition of the union. That is the one burning question in which, aside from these other questions, you are involved. I do not know the attitude of the other members of the Council on this particular point, but my own attitude is this: that capital has no right to interfere with workingmen organizing labor any more than the workingman has a right to interfere with the capitalists organizing capital. The two are on a parity on that point, and so my feeling is that in the present emergency the employer has no right to interfere with you in your efforts to organize the workers into unions, just as you have no right to interfere with capitalists organizing capital into corporations. If you can get a condition where efforts to organize the workers are not interfered with and where a scale of wages is recognized that maintains the present standard of living, it occurs to me that for the time being no stoppage of work should take place for the purpose of forcing recognition of the union. Of course, that would not interfere with the employers and yourselves entering into any arrangement for recognition that might be mutually agreeable."—*Grant W. Hamilton, Legislative Committeeman, A. F. of L.*

THE CHAMBERLAIN UNIVERSAL SERVICE BILL.

Labor must sacrifice its freedom and do
and die,
And it musn't even speak or ask the reason why.

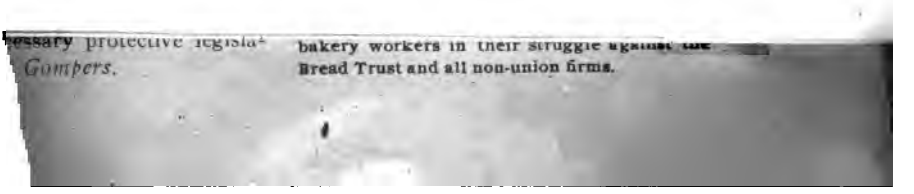
Since April 5 a state of war has existed between this country and Germany. Congress has pledged the manhood and wealth of this nation to conduct an armed conflict. The citizenship of America is bound by this declaration to assume the responsibility and bear the burdens of a war in which they are to have small influence in directing, if those who are most vitally concerned do not quickly and vehemently register their protest against autocratic proposals now under consideration.

That the United States should be supported loyally by its people in the impending struggle is not a debatable question. Our country will be defended as valiantly in the present crisis as it has been in former conflicts, but this occasion must not be made the opportunity for fastening upon this nation militarism. Like every other country, we have our Junkers.

Immediately following the declaration of a state of war by Congress, from every quarter of the United States there came insistent demands that Congress adopt a conscription law. These demands proceed largely from those who hold investments—the American Junker class.

For over 140 years we have indulged in the glorification of our democratic institutions. We fought the war of independence in 1776 by a volunteer force. The second war of independence of 1812 was fought and won by volunteers. Out of 4,000,000 males qualified for military service at the opening of the civil war 1,000,000 volunteered the first year. In fact, Secretary Stanton sent out notice after the first call for volunteers that the call had been "over-subscribed." Later on, in 1863, Congress did pass a "draft" law, but President Lincoln, although opposed to it, accepted the alternative because of the desperate situation then existing. However, the draft, according to the best information obtainable, was responsible for the enlistment of only 61,947 men for Union army. This was 2.3 per cent. of the total forces of the entire war, and 4.5 per cent. of the forces raised after the draft was authorized.

During the last congress the Chamber-



lain bill providing for universal service made its appearance. Its introduction was, as now appears, the overture to a general plan to revolutionize our democratic institutions and place them upon a military basis. Prussian militarism is based on universal service. Aside from the concrete reasons assigned for entering the war with Germany the public mind is expected to accept the added reason that we also are to assist in crushing militarism. In carrying out the latter, however, the present program is plunging the American people into the very form of militarism which it is proposed we are to crush.

That the undemocratization of our institutions is making headway it is only necessary to point out that the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives is now holding secret sessions, with officials of the war and navy departments closeted with the committee, conscription being under consideration.

From statements of government officials it is evident that the purpose is to secure authority from congress to conscript an army of 1,000,000 men during the next year. The plan of raising a volunteer army is not being considered. With the present state of mind of the citizenship it has undoubtedly been concluded by the American Junkers that under the war clouds obscuring the normal vision a favorable opportunity is presented to fasten upon this nation a military establishment which can never be shaken off.

The American Junkers are not unwise. Among them are the keenest minds and shrewdest manipulators of the country. They look far into the future and cunningly devise methods by which they hope to achieve wealth and power for themselves, even though their success means the destruction of our national ideals and beliefs that a democracy of the people can be maintained and perpetuated by the voluntary response of the people in times of stress.

In the ebb and flow of history it is unerringly recorded that with the advance of militarism, democracy of the people recedes. The United States (with its incomputable resources and vast accumulated wealth, owned and controlled by the American Junker class) is controlled by a democracy of the people, and wealth, at least to some degree, is compelled to assume the burdens of government and accept a modicum of regulation.

Under the present stress of war, the first favorable opportunity which has been presented to the American Junkers for a century to engraft upon this government militarism, every economic and political wire is freighted with energy in an effort to commit the United States to an old-world war policy.

ENGLAND'S LABOR MISTAKES.

"In the light of England's frankly confessed mistakes," said Miss Mary Van Kleck, of the Russell Sage Foundation, "The New York State Legislature will but defeat its own patriotic purpose if it should pass the bills now pending to suspend the labor laws. Those who believe in prosecuting this war with vigor must realize that the British Ministry of Munitions has proved that maximum production can be accrued only through insistence on good working conditions, reasonably short hours, and one day's rest in seven. The conditions prevailing in some of our own munition factories even before our entrance into the war show that we have as yet paid little heed to England's experience. In an investigation among the women munition workers of Bridgeport, Connecticut, we found many of the same evils, though not to the same degree as in England during the first year of the war. Night work for women on ten-hour shifts was common. Overtime, inadequate protection of the workers against accident and disease, and crowded living conditions were conspicuous facts in the industry. Efforts to strengthen the law in Con-

necticut have been defeated in the mistaken belief that patriotism demands the removal of all restrictions on working conditions.

"In England the recklessness of helter-skelter haste was dramatically brought home by the famous shell shortage in the spring of 1917. In the first burst of patriotic fervor everything had been sacrificed to speed. Labor laws had been broken down, Sunday labor, overtime, night work for women and children, excessive hours of labor, prevailed in the factories. The Committee on the Health of Munition Workers, after a careful investigation and intensive study in certain plants of the relation of hours of labor to output, concluded that increased output was to be gained through the saving of the workers' health and strength and an increase in the labor force, not through the taxing of endurance to the breaking point. Their recommendations were: That seven-day labor be abolished for all workers; that excessive overtime be reduced by the extension of the shift system; that the hours of labor be adapted to the age and sex of the worker and the nature of the employment, and that night work should be avoided, but where necessary because of extreme shortage of labor, it should be organized in eight-hour shifts.

"If New York is to produce the supplies needed for the war its present labor laws must be maintained."

"CAN'T STRIKE" LAW REJECTED BY VERMONT.

MONTPELIER, VT., May 5.—The State Senate, by a unanimous vote, refused to concur in house bill No. 417 which would prohibit any strike until 60 days after the State Public Service Commission published its report on the grievance. The act did not limit the time in which the commission should report, but provided that it shall be unlawful for a union "to order, procure, assist in procuring or for two or more of its members to congregate to procure any strike or suspension of work because of such controversy until 60 days after the publication of the report of the Public Service Commission provided for in section 3 of this act."

Section 3 provided that where an employer and employes cannot settle their differences, either of the parties may present the matter to the commission, "which shall forthwith, on due notice, hold a public investigation into the merits of the controversy and make a report of its findings of fact, including its findings as to the cause of the controversy, together with a recommendation for a settlement, according to the merits and substantial justice of the case, which shall be forthwith published."

The proposed plan made no reference to the employment of strikebreakers during this investigation, but if workers struck they would be imprisoned for not more than three years or fined not more than $500 nor less than $200, or both.

This is the third time in the past six years employers have failed to secure this legislation, which was especially urged by employers in the granite and quarry industries.

"SHALL THE PEOPLE RULE?"

CLEVELAND, May 12.—Writing in the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers recalls this history of the United States Supreme Court:

"The United States is the only nation in the world with a written constitution, whose higher court exercises the power of vetoing the acts of a parliament, or other legislative body. England has no written constitution and judges of her higher courts are removable by parliament, which is the supreme law-making power of the land.

"Our present constitution was adopted in 1787, and for a period of 16 years, or until 1803, the question of the supreme court's veto was never raised when the

ecessary protective legisla- *Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

case of Marbery and Madison was tried before that court, Chief Justice John Marshall rendering the decision. Marbery had been appointed justice of the peace of the District of Columbia by the retiring President, John Adams, but for want of time his commission was never delivered, Marbery suing the new Secretary of State, Madison, for the delivery of his commission. The court decided against Marbery, also rendering the startling decision that it not only had the right to pass on that case, but also to veto any act of Congress that was contrary to the constitution. Thomas Jefferson, who was then President, would not have put the mandate of the court into effect if it had been made, and would have brought impeachment proceedings against Marshall, which the latter knew, but his ingenious argument of the power and rights of the Supreme Court had taken hold in the minds of many. Jefferson had very decided views in regard to the Supreme Court. He said its members were the sappers and miners working night and day to undermine the fabric of our confederation.

"Some years afterward in the 'Yazoo Claims' case, in which the above principle was involved, Andrew Jackson, who was then President, ignored the mandate of the court. Said Jackson: 'John Marshall has rendered a decision, now let's see him put it into effect,' and it was never done.

"Succeeding presidents could have followed the same course as Jefferson and Jackson except for that reverence for precedents and antiquity, and the result is, that 'the ashes of the dead jurists yet rule us from their urns.'"

TRADE UNIONS CO-OPERATE.

Trade unions are frequently referred to as a business concern in which every member is an equal partner, says an exchange. And this is absolutely true. The trade union is a co-partnership affair, and is the antithesis of a corporation. The latter is based upon an autocracy wherein the management and control is delegated to a Board of Directors who possess autocratic power, while the former is based upon a democracy wherein all power is reserved to the individual members comprising it.

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Trade unions are based upon democracy. They are voluntary associations of individuals having common interest. The success of a trade union depends upon the amount of energy put forth by each member, and to the same extent that one member shirks duty or fails to do his part, to that extent the whole union suffers. The union man who thinks he has fulfilled his obligation to his union when he pays his dues, never attends meetings or assist in the active work of the organization fails to get all the good there is in unionism.

No matter how good or how efficient the officers of a union may be, unless they have hearty support and fullest co-operation of all the members they cannot possibly secure for their union all the benefits that might be secured. It requires the active co-operation and united efforts of all the members of a union to bring it to its highest possible efficiency. —Ex.

WHAT UNIONS HAVE DONE.

The next time some one asks you "What you have unions for?" don't pity his ignorance, but take the uninformed gentleman in hand and enlighten his mind to the greatest force for good that the world's workers have ever known.

Compare the long work-day of thirty

years ago to that of today. Explain to him how that at the beginning of the union labor movement, all of the different machines of labor were working from twelve to sixteen hours per day, and that how the eight-hour day is a fact in all of the organized callings, and that many of them are discussing the seven-hour day, that they may enjoy to a greater degree the good things of life.

If the unions' successful efforts in reducing the work-day is not sufficient excuse for our existence, show your friend how the workers' agitation secured our free school system and its free school books. How we have raised wages and established a vast chain of benefits. How we have forced employers to safeguard life and limb. How shop conditions are bettered by workers standing together and protecting from blacklisting the fellow who has gone to the front.

Tell him that all of these gains have been made in the last fifty years. Before that time men were even denied the right to organize. Existing laws at that time declared that three workers gathered together in one group constituted a conspiracy. But despite these obstacles men united. They formed debating societies and established labor papers. Slowly but surely they one at a time toppled over old ideas, maintained by lawmakers, professors, economists and students. Upward they have climbed out of slavery and bondage, over 2,000,000 strong.—Ex.

ANTI-INJUNCTION LAW PASSED IN CALIFORNIA.

SACRAMENTO, CAL., May 5.—The State Legislature has passed the anti-injunction bill urged by organized labor. The recent passage of similar legislation by the Minnesota Legislature was a factor in the unionists' success.

The California act is modeled along the lines of the Clayton law and prohibits injunctions where the plaintiff has a remedy in law. No person can be prevented from persuading others from terminating a condition of employment, and no injunction shall be issued against any person or persons, from going on strike or doing any other thing that would be lawful if no strike existed.

ABOLISH SWEATSHOPS.

Trade Union Movement Has an Important Duty to Perform.

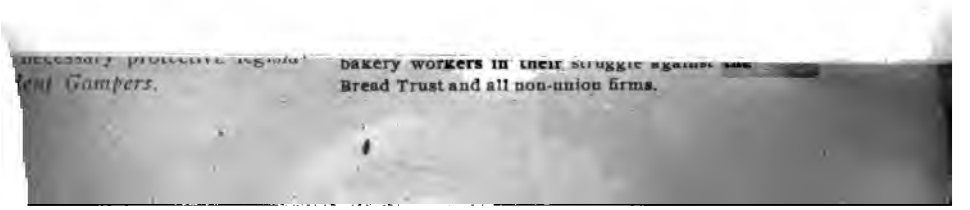
The sweatshop saps the vitality of the humblest worker in the industries; it deprives him of fresh air and sunlight; it is a breeding place of contagious disease. The white plague, known as tuberculosis, flourishes in these dens of iniquity.

The sweatshop robs childhood of sunshine and the playground; it retards the mental and physical development of the children. It is a national disgrace and a reproach on modern civilization.

The work in the sweatshop commences early in the morning and ends late in the evening. There is no closing hour. It is a perpetual grind engulfed in a helpless and hopeless industrial abyss.

The trade union movement has an imperative duty to perform. The wage slaves toiling in the sweatshops of the country have to be rescued from the inferno in which their spirits are crushed, their health sacrificed. The lowest paid and hardest pressed workers in the social scale are entitled to full consideration. It is of equal importance to the general welfare to save the sweatshop toiler from destruction and raise the wages of the best paid workers.

In the State of New York, where the sweating system in the tenement houses is growing constantly, the adverse decisions of the courts in the past years have nullified legislation tending to eliminate this growing evil. Nothing short of a constitutional amendment by the legislature and organization seems able to prevent the continuation and extension of these dens of infamy and degradation. —*Cigarmakers' Journal.*



WHAT IS SLAVERY?

'Tis to work and have such pay
In your limbs, as in a cell,
As just keeps life from day to day
For the tyrant's use to dwell.
'Tis to be a slave in soul
And to hold no strong control
Over your own will, but be
All that others make of ye.
So that ye for them are made,
Loom and plow and sword and spade,
With or without your own will, bent
To their defense and nourishment.
'Tis to see our children weak
With their mothers pine and peak,
When the winter's winds are bleak—
They are dying while I speak.
'Tis to hunger for such diet
As the rich man in his riot
Casts to the fat dogs that lie
Surfeiting beneath his eye.
And at length when you complain,
With a murmur weak and vain,
'Tis to see the tyrant crew
Ride over your wives and you,
Men of labor, heirs of glory,
Heroes of unwritten story,
Nurslings of one mighty mother,
Hopes of her and one another,
Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number;
Shake your chains to earth like dew
Which, in sleep has fallen on you!
Ye are many, they are few.

—*Shelley.*

LINCOLN AND LABOR.

The Honest Keen-Visioned Lincoln Held Views Upon Relation of Capital to Labor Beyond His Day.

An honest laborer digs coal at about 70 cents a day, while the president digs abstractions at about $70 a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions, and yet what a monstrous inequality in price.

Inasmuch as most good things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those people whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy subject of good government.

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effect of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert to fleece the people, and now that they have got into a quarrel with themselves, we are called upon to appropriate the people's money to settle the quarrel.

The same spirit says: "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king and who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of man as an apology for enslaving another, it is the same tyrannical principle.

"I believe each individual is naturally entitled to do as he pleases with himself and the fruit of his labor, so far as it in no wise interferes with any other man's rights.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

AIR IN THE LUNGS.

In one minute in a state of rest the average man takes into his lungs about eight liters, or 48.8 cubic inches, of air. In walking he needs sixteen liters, or 97.6 cubic inches; in climbing, twenty-three liters, or 140.3 cubic inches; in riding at a trot, thirty-three liters, or 201.3 cubic inches, and in long distance running fifty-seven liters, or 347.7 cubic inches.

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

Rooms 50-51-52-53 Iroquois Life Building

THIRD AND MAIN STREETS, LOUISVILLE, KY.

The publisher reserves the right to reject or revoke advertising contracts at any time.

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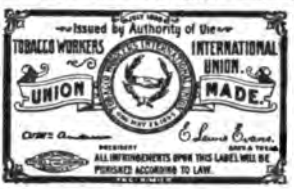
SEE THAT THIS LABEL



is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

In these days of doing your bit, don't forget to do your bit for the Union Label.

The enemies you make while loyally supporting Labor's Cause are worth having.

The higher and the stronger the position you hold, the stronger the opposition you must meet.

These are world's history-making days. It is your duty to see that your interests are woven into the pages and chapters.

While feeding your body, don't forget that the brain needs feeding and practice too. If you do not keep it polished it will rust just like any other old piece of iron.

On one side of American life we have a great expanse of poverty, and on the other we have the great class of concentrated wealth with all the viciousness that goes with it. What is in the middle?

The popularity of the cigarette is growing at a tremendous rate. It is estimated that the sales of cigarettes for 1917, if the present rate of increase is maintained, will reach the enormous total of 35,000,000,000. Last year the output was approximately 25,000,000,000.

Every business that is a business lays aside an amount to take care of the never ceasing depreciation in values in the energies of production, but in the matter of paying wages to the employes the management of most businesses seems to go on the assumption that the worker has no depreciation to take care of.

John D. Rockefeller is out with a statement that grain should not be used in making beer and whisky, for the reason that the poor will be deprived of bread; but we notice that John D. does not forget to add another cent every once in a while to the price of gasoline.

John D. never forgets the poor when his pocket needs another million for a donation.

The purpose of the Trade Union Movement is to secure an equitable return for all services given and to standardize the hours of service so that all may live, have proper time for rest and pleasure, and improvement of the mind. In doing this we will abolish all sweating service, and give all the workers the right of a chance to live and be citizens in name and not in theory.

e necessary protective legisla-
dent Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

If a union membership card could only talk, what would it say when its owner put it in a sweat shop non-union made coat pocket?

What has made the Little Union Label effective? It is not altogether due alone to the advertising that the respective unions give to it. The advertising has opened up the way to the co-operative spirit that lies in a more or less dormant state in all of us—the desire to help our fellowman who is not on easy street—and the knowledge that the Label represents decent conditions under which the products bearing the Union Label are produced—these and many other reasons of equal import are what is making the Union Label as effective as it now is.

If Labor in making up its wage scales would subdivide its demands and itemize them as manufacturers do, charging so much for vital force waste, so much for maintenance, so much for insurance protection, so much for depreciation (old age) and other overhead charges, the employer would have a practical illustration of his own method, but he would stand aghast at the presumptuous assumption of those working for him. Labor will learn some day to add contingent expense of a sundry character, and dividend payment, probable losses, etc., to the wage scales, and collect them too.

There is amongst us in this land of the free and the home of the brave, a sect who are obsessed with the idea that they are endowed with the divine-given rights to do for the common people better than the people can do for themselves. This kind of thing has been the cause of trouble in European countries in times past, and there is no doubt of its causing trouble of the severest kind in this country if a certain limit in the premises is overstepped. It might be well for some of our autocracy advocates to take timely notice of and resurvey the limits of their trespassing intentions.

If this is the poor man's war, and an attempt to protect his most vital interests, why tax the things that his family will most need while he is marching to the tune of the bullet? Coffee and sugar, two staple household articles, are to come under the tax hammer. Why should they? The poor man being at the bottom, has to pay the most of the tax, simply because he has no one below him to shift the burden upon. All those above him shift it from one to the other, beginning at the top, and on down, and the poor man being the goat with nothing to sell, has to grin and bear it.

In the past, the rule of wars has been to do the fighting in one generation and leave the debt to be paid by the generation next in line. With our entry into the European war an attempt will be made not to hand the debt burden down to posterity, but to pay as we enter. If in paying the expense of this war the proper share was assigned to land values, and not only on land improvements, there would be nothing to hand down to posterity, and the people that can afford it and who are now depriving others of the right to use the land for production, would be compelled to pay their rightful share of the expense.

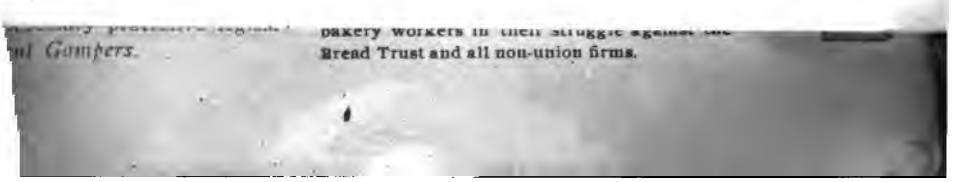
If the predatory interests could strangle the press that they cannot control by the purchasing of advertising space, they would not be advocating the censoring of the press. It is to get control or put out of business those pesky little fellows who tell the unvarnished truth and hash it up in the style that keeps nipping the heels of the big interests and reminds them that the watch-dogs of the night are awake that bothers them most. They cannot buy these sheets by paying two or three prices for advertising space, as they do in other cases. So they try all the oppressive means that genius can conceive. They have raised the price of paper, tried to have postage laws doc-

reasoning and therefore are worthy of their support. The militarist and special privileged caste are not slow in noting the turning of sentiment. They see the fading out of some of their pet schemes by which the hoodwink was kept over the eyes of the common herd, and that the common herd are getting entirely too wise in legislative matters and too strong in capacity to put the full good of Labor in its intended place. The predatory class have received some severe jolts during the last few years and are becoming awakened, the fear of righteous causes having entered the recesses of their hearts. When this war matter came up they thought they saw a maze of intricacies in which they could drive out of sight and put some nails in Labor's coffin before the West wind blew the haze out to sea; but their previous persecution of Labor and the prostitution of its best interests has given it some wisdom, learned of experience, that has not been laid on the back shelf. The persecution of Labor has not been without its good. It has made Labor a host of friends which it could not have gotten through any other means. These friends are now standing Labor in good stead in this present crisis, and are working with Labor, rendering efficient service to the government without any possible selfish purpose in view, at the same time giving Labor a measure of protection so necessary under governing conditions.

Since we are actively engaged in the seriousness of war, it is to be hoped that in the stress of things, we will profit by the experiences of excesses and recklessness in the employment of labor in munition factories, and indeed other lines. Long hours of labor for the workers at a high tension proved the undoing of many in the French and English factories, and had to be remedied with the corresponding losses of time and production. In the hope of accelerating production of munitions, bars and guards safeguarding labor were let down, and the pressure for output was put on. Child labor restriction, the rule in normal times, was waved out of the way. All went well until human exhaustion proved the falseness of the position of scattering rule to the winds that has been set up by past experience. When the thing broke down it was necessary to reorganize it and re-establish rule which had been sacrificed for speed and collectedness, giving place to feverishness. The English investigators who were appointed to look into the broken human machinery found that it was pure economic waste to tax human endurance to a point of breaking every day and expect it to continue proper functioning. These are points that the trade unions had been endeavoring for years to prove to the employers who listened with wooden ears without a hole to put in an eardrum. The trade unions, however, had succeeded in installing some very effectual reforms, and they were doing very nicely until the war broke out. The employing class then got control and let all bars down for a general speed rush. When the break-down came the government stepped in, and on proving by a thorough investigation that the rules previously set up by the experience of the workers themselves were better in every respect, had them re-established, only they went further than the trade unions had been able to go before the war.

We have the opportunity of learning from the experience of English munition factories, now let us profit by them as we should, and not suffer a breakdown, perhaps, when we are in the middle of a stream.

What motive could an august body like the Executive of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation have in delegating to the President the right to suspend any law affecting immigration to this country, so as to admit any and all Eastern Asiatic labor coming to



this country? There seems to be none, except that they want to break down at a critical moment the protection that labor has taken years to build up for its own and others good. A naive statement goes with the suggestion that we have these people to work on the farms during the war and return them after the war is over.

That august body must think that nobody can see through a rail fence but themselves.

Labor in this country has thrown itself heartily into the government's work, and it does not expect the government in base ingratitude to burn their houses down after they have gone to help put out the fire in a neighbor's house. For tricks that are vain and deeds that are dark, the Chinaman is not the only suggestion.

Large delegations of tobacco and cigar men are now in Washington protesting against the increasing of the tax 100%. Such an increase will mean a great difference to the consumer who is the goat in all such cases. That, however, is not the thought in mind. With an increase of 100% in tax, many of the smaller factories are going to have a very hard time to weather such a beating storm, as it represents an investment of double the money formerly invested, and the money must be invested before business can be done. So it is either put up the money, or get out of business, and it is not improbable that many of the factories with small capital will have to give up the business. It will be not a little loss after years of effort to see their business being absorbed by the trust and getting nothing for it, as the trust with their tremendous capital will be able to weather the storm and be far ahead of the game when the business becomes normal again.

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE KY., May 18, 1917.

To Members At Large of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

GREETING—I now inform you that owing to the exceptionally heavy demand for Sick Benefits and the high death rate, the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is now lower than it has been for a long time. It is therefore necessary to supplement the regular income by an assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an assessment of 25c per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect May 19, 1917, and be collectible on or before June 30, 1917.

Members at large will forward same to the International Office as soon after this notice reaches them as possible, and not later than the above mentioned date, the 30th day of June, 1917.

By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 8.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE KY., May 18, 1917.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—As you will have seen by the Auditor's report, the ordinary income to the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is not supporting it. It is necessary then to supplement it by an assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an assessment of 25c per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect May 19, 1917, and be collectible on or before June 30, 1917.

Officers and members of Local Unions are kindly requested to give this their particular attention.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 8.

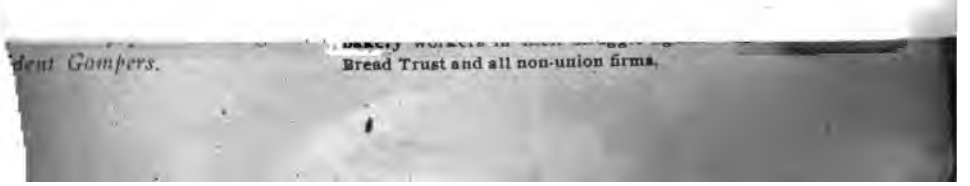
WASHINGTON, May 5.—Rene Viviani, chief civilian member of the French mission to America, visited the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor last Monday, and was welcomed

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION



by President Gompers in the name of the men and women of labor.

The distinguished visitor is minister of justice and vice-president of the French cabinet. He was minister of labor in 1909 when President Gompers visited various European countries.

In a short address, Mr. Viviani, who spoke in French, said in part:

"I am very greatly honored by meeting you in this house of the workers. In the course of my long career, in my labor for the public, I was never more happy than when I myself led in the establishment, in France, of the department of labor for France, of which I was at that time minister. During the four years in which I was minister of labor I had the great satisfaction of assisting in the passage, and in some cases inaugurating, the most important laws that were ever enacted in France on behalf of the wage workers.

"I have usually maintained the most cordial relations with the central committee, as well as with the entire organization, of the Federation of Labor in France—and indeed with all the workers in general. Every week at least I call in for counsel with me a number of the workers, and on Saturday I mentioned especially to Mr. Gompers and Mr. (J. W.) Sullivan, the two gentlemen who are expected to come over here, Mr. Jouhaux and Mr. Keufer (French trade unionists). It would be a great mistake on the part of any public man if he did not profit by the experience of men who have been labor leaders in their country."

In reply, President Gompers said in part:

"Mr. Viviani, representative man and representative of the best spirit of France and of the world, in the name of the men and of the women of labor, and in the name of their friends, here present, I bid you a welcome in this house of labor, in this capital of our nation, in this great republic, sister to the republic of France.

"The opportunity that I had of meeting you in France and the cordiality with which your reception to me there was permeated, the consciousness which you impressed upon me of your desire to do all that lay in any human being to do in the interest of the masses of the people, your determination to help work out the sociological problems of the toilers of France— all of this impressed me as did your own personality—you, a great leader of the people of France in the task before them for justice and freedom and humanity.

"Coming, as you do, as the representative of the great spirit of the democracy

STRONGHOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

of France, and joined with you the British envoys, you bring to us the last word and the best hope of France and of England. And now we have joined your forces, not only in sympathy and in spirit, but in fact, to determine, let us hope, for all times that despotism, even a benevolent despotism, must come to an end. Despotism is intolerable in this enlightened twentieth century, and it cannot and must not be permitted to stand against the onward march of modern concepts of freedom and democracy."

MINNESOTA FIRST STATE TO ACCEPT CLAYTON LAW.

ST. PAUL, May 5.—Governor Burmquist has signed the anti-injunction bill, passed by the last legislature at the request of organized labor. This law embodies the main features of the Clayton act, including the declaration that "the labor power of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

Minnesota is the first State that has included this declaration in its statutes, which is a notification to State judges that the old theory upon which strike injunctions rest will no longer suffice.

LIVING COST AND WAGES.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor denied before a house committee that living expenses have increased 15 per cent. in the United States during the last ten years, while wages had not advanced proportionately.

"In the last twelve years," Mr. Gompers said, "wages, hours of employment and conditions of labor have improved in the United States beyond any other period of any people in the history of the world. The price trend of essentials since 1870 has been downward. We have enlarged what we call the essentials of life in the last thirty years, so that there is no comparison between what the cost of them was and what it is today."

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS
to purchase bread only which bears
THIS LABEL
It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Smoke Union Labeled Tobacco
Cigarettes and Snuff
These Brands Are Union Made and Bear the Union Label:

Tobacco	Cigarettes	Snuff
Kotton, Mino, Kane, True Friends, Black Eye, Peoples Va. Extra	Kotton, Mino, True Friends, Peoples Va. Extra	Macouba Fine Snuff Virginia Half-Course Snuff

All Made in a Union Shop By the
Peoples Tobacco Co. 429 Julia Street, New Orleans, La.

bakery workers in their struggle
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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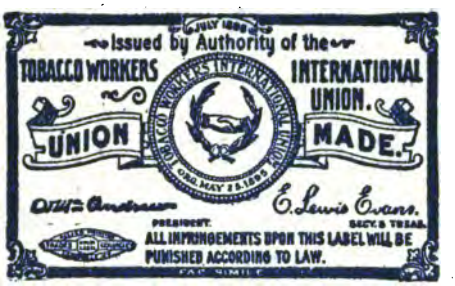
PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Volume 21 June, 1917 Number 6

The TOBACCO WORKER



Official Magazine
of the
Tobacco Workers' International Union

Rooms 50-1-2-3 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.

JOHNSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Smoke Union Labeled Tobacco
Cigarettes and Snuff

These Brands Are Union Made and Bear the Union Label:

Tobacco	Cigarettes	Snuff
Ketton, Mino, Kano, True Friends, Black Eye, Peoples Va. Extra	Ketton, Mino, True Friends, Peoples Va. Extra	Macouba Fine Snuff Virginia Half-Course Snuff

All Made in a Union Shop By the

Peoples Tobacco Co. 429 Julia Street, New Orleans, La.

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

The **UNION LABEL** induced a trial

MERIT made it **A SUCCESS**

We make many other Brands **equally GOOD**

Ask for Samples

dent Gompers.

Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

HARVARD COLLEGE
JUL 9 1917
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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 JUNE, 1917 No. 6

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

OUR FREEDOM THREATENED.

As our nation rapidly swings through changes necessary for the transition from a peace to a war basis there is developing the beginning of an attitude totally at variance to the genius and the institutions of democracy—the spirit of intolerance. As we are torn from the moorings of peace and face the unknown dangers of a fight for national rights of humanity there are not lacking indications of failure to discriminate between measures for protection and measures that destroy all that gives our republic meaning.

In order to protect ourselves against dangers suspected and feared, an effort is being made to pass legislation which would impair fundamental rights which are the basis for all our freedom.

An "espionage bill' is now under consideration by Congress which would sweep away freedom of press and speech. The people of this country have a right to know the general plans and purposes of those to whom they have entrusted the conduct of the war.

Of course, the details of military and naval strategy in order to be effective must be kept with a degree of secrecy, but the people who must have their services in order to make these plans effective have the right to general information and they have a right to express their opinions and convictions thereon.

We can not protect our country against insidious foreign instigation of plots and intrigue by depriving all of our people of their fundamental constitutional rights. Defense and maintenance of America's institutions do not depend upon drastic resolutions completely altering the very nature of conditions and regulations.

If we turn back the pages of history to the early years of our republic, we find that the country passed through a similar trial. The different elements of nationality were even less welded together in composite whole than they are at present. There were then fewer traditions and ideals in common. All of Europe was at war. There were foreign plots to force this nation to take sides in the contest. Our Congress passed the drastic alien and sedition laws.

Those laws were not effective in protecting us against foreign intrigue but they did react disastrously to institutions of freedom in this country. They were taken advantage of by that element that desires to fasten upon the masses of the people unfreedom because people, denied their rights, are more easily made to serve the selfish interests of others.

There are not now wanting in this country evidences of this same spirit. Under guise of national necessity proposals have been made to hold the people, particularly the working people, in a position where they can not "interfere" with existing stable conditions. The plea is that national necessity must make rigid the relations between employer and

employe, and this has been interpreted to mean even refusal to consider redress of wrong or higher wages notwithstanding constantly increasing costs of living.

The result of such legislation would defeat the very purpose assigned as a reason for the legislation. It would produce a static equilibrium devoid of the necessary flexibility essential to enable industrial organization to meet the changes developing with industrial life.

It devolves upon the masses of the people to defeat this tendency toward reaction and autocracy and to maintain standards that will permit of human liberty and progress. Let every member of organized labor feel responsibility devolving upon him to guard carefully against such aggression on the part of reaction and to register an emphatic protest against all proposals and policies that would establish autocracy and militarism to supplant our free republic.

The working people are fully prepared to do their part for the preservation of the ideals and institutions of the republic, both industrial and military.—*President Gompers, in American Federationist.*

DIRECT ACTION.

Judge-made law in labor cases has reached such proportions that the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts is able to issue a 250-page book under the title, "Labor Injunctions in Massachusetts." The volume is practically filled with quotations and summaries taken from the cases in which judges have issued injunctions in labor disputes.

Two things are noticeable in these cases. The first is the fact that the injunction is a weapon which is used by the employer against his employes. The workers do not use the injunction. Whatever its possibilities, the workers have not availed themselves of the opportunity which the injunction might give them to secure quick action on vital questions.

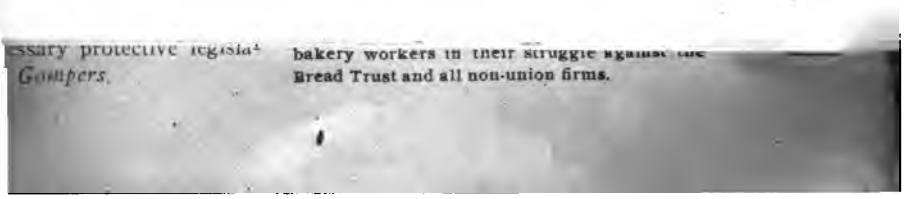
The injunction is a form of direct action. Where irreparable damage is threatened; where it can be shown that the ordinary processes of law are inadequate to give relief from injustice, injunctions may be secured from the courts. If, for example, one man appeared on the property of another, and began cutting his shade trees, for which no damages would be an adequate compensation, the court would issue an injunction forbidding the intruder to continue cutting the trees. If he persisted, he would be adjudged in contempt of court and punished by the judge who had issued the injunction.

Proceeding upon this theory, courts have issued injunctions in labor disputes. A group of workers, striking against their employer, are threatening to destroy his property. These workers have no property upon which the employer can levy if he wins a damage suit against them. Beside that, the injury which they are doing to his business is so great that no money damages would ever compensate for it. The court grants the injunction because no amount of damages will make up the loss sustained.

Look at the other side of the question for a minute.

A hundred women are at work in a State where the law requires that women shall be provided with seats. No seats are provided, however, and the constant standing, day by day, undermines and finally destroys the health of the women. These women have a remedy at law. They may compel the factory inspectors to enforce the law and provide seats. But that takes time. Meanwhile, the women are suffering a daily and irreparable loss of health. This is clearly a case for the issuance of an injunction.

A number of men are at work in a mine. The mining company in violation of the law, does not provide adequate ventilation. The men's health is damaged in consequence, and one day the dust and gas in the mine will explode, killing and maiming scores or perhaps



hundreds. The danger is imminent and constant. The men have a remedy at law, but meanwhile, irreparable damage is being done. Again there is a case for the use of the injunction.

Oddly enough injunctions are not issued to these cases. It is only when irreparable damage will be done to PROPERTY that the courts hasten to the assistance of citizens. INJUNCTIONS ARE SECURED BY EMPLOYERS, TO PROTECT PROPERTY.

The property owners of the United States are the real directactionists. The workers appoint legislative committees, elect representatives, lobby for legislation, and when it is declared unconstitutional, they go back and pursue the weary path again—sometimes consuming years in the process. Children are toiling; women are being overworked at starvation wages; trade diseases threaten health and life itself are destroyed ruthlessly with no redress save the tedious machinery of legislative action. A strike is called. Strikers and strikebreakers come into conflict, property is threatened, and presto—an injunction is granted and the danger of irreparable damage to property is warded off.

Injunctions are issued to prevent irreparable damage; they are issued at the behest of the employer; they are issued for the protection of property. Blessed are they that own for theirs is the power of the judiciary.—*Scott Nearing.*

LABOR LAWS OF THE PAST.

After reading the protections thrown around labor organizations by the arbitration bill, the following, from the Chicago *Times-Herald,* will be interesting.

According to official Government reports the earliest example of the strike known in this country is "the bakers' conspiracy" of 1741. Some journeymen bakers had agreed among themselves to refuse to bake bread till their wages were raised. An information was filed against the "conspirators" in the criminal court and they were duly tried and convicted on the charge of conspiring not to bake on the old wage scale, but were released owing to a technicality having been successfully interposed, but the justice of the verdict does not appear to have been doubted.

The next labor case of which there is a record occurred in 1805 in Philadelphia. A number of journeymen shoemakers struck for an increase of wages. The strike ended in failure, but it is historical on account of a remarkable conspiracy trial which grew out of it. Eight men were tried on an indictment containing three counts. The first charged that the defendants had contrived "unjustly and offensively" to increase the normal market price for their services, to the "damage and prejudice not only of their masters, but of their journeymen, the citizens generally and the dignity of the State." Precisely how an attempt to raise wages injures "other journeymen" is not clear, but it was useless to expect logic in the early notions on the subject. The second count would hold even today, for it charged the strikers with attempting to prevent by threats and other unlawful means, men continuing to work on the old terms. The final count recited that the men had unlawfully met and tried to form themselves into a club and to ordain arbitrary and unlawful by-laws for their guidance as well as for the government of other workmen. These alleged "arbitrary" by-laws, it turned out, were simply the agreement to refuse to work for the old rate and act together in obtaining an advance.

Very curious indeed was the charge of the court and the politico-economic opinions laid down theerin. The usual means, said the court, by which the prices of workmen's services are regulated are the demand for the article and the excellence of its fabric, and to make an arbitrary and artificial regulation without regard to the excellence of the work or the demand for it is an unnat-

ural way of raising the price of labor. Such an unnatural way exposes commerce to ruin and is therefore against the public welfare. A combination of workmen, the court went on to say, undertaking to raise wages, may be considered from a two-fold point of view —One is to benefit themselves, the other is to injure outsiders. "The rule of law condemns both." A combination may not attempt to raise wages even in ways perfectly allowable to individuals.

The jury in this case brought in a verdict of "guilty of a combination to raise their wages," and fines were imposed.

Passing over other cases, we find that in 1833 the shoemakers of Geneva, N. Y., having succeeded in securing an advance in pay by means of a strike, were indicted and tried for conspiracy. One count recited that the strikers had formed themselves into an unlawful union and conspired to prevent journeymen from working below certain rates prescribed by them, and another count charged them with having agreed not to work for any master who should employ any journeyman obnoxious to them, even if they were good and faithful citizens.

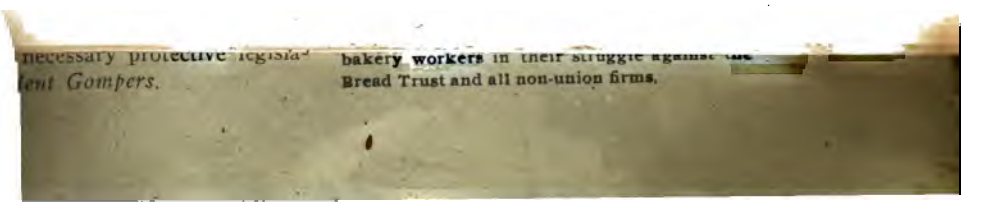
In the lower court the strikers were cleared, the judge holding that the indictment did not cite any offense known to the law, but this judgment was reversed by the Supreme Court, which held that the conspiracy was indictable because it was "an act injurious to trade." Here, too, the reasoning of the court is peculiar. It is important to the best interests of society, it said, that the price of labor be left to regulate itself, or rather that it be limited to the demand for it. Combinations to enhance or reduce the natural price are injurious. If the bootmakers may say that boots shall not be made for less than $1 per pair, it is optional with them to say that $10 or $50 shall be the price, and the result would be an odious monopoly, and an enormous tax upon the community. Still if any man thinks the price too low, he may refuse to work for it.

In fine, a combination to raise wages by means of a strike, even where no threats, coercion or intimidation are employed against other workers, is illegal because injurious to trade and the consuming public. Think of the naivete of the suggestion that if men are allowed to fix the price at $1 there is danger of them attempting to fix it at $50 and thus establish an odious monopoly! The existence of natural checks was not suspected by the court. That strikers can never enforce unreasonable and extravagant demands the court did not stop to consider.

One more decision to indicate the ideas which were current in the early days with regard to unionism. In 1836 New York tailors struck for an increase in wages. They resorted to intimidation and were tried for conspiracy. The judgment did not dwell on the intimidation, but on the fact of combination. He impressed on the minds of the jury that the issue was not to be regarded as a mere struggle between master and employe, but as something upon which the harmony of the whole community depended. "Let these unions only arise from time to time," said the judge, "and they will at last extend to every trade in the city, and there will be as many governments as there are societies." And he further declared that there was absolutely no necessity for unions. In this country combinations were not necessary, in the judge's view, for the protection of mechanics. They were all of foreign origin and out of accord with our institutions and national character.—*International Garment Cutters' Journal.*

A PITIFUL TALE.

The next time you put on a collar remember that it was made not only out of linen thread and starch alone, but also with the sweat of girls and old women


necessary protective legisla-
lent Gompers.
bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

of Troy, who are the most abject slaves in the world.

There could not be any worse slavery than theirs because of the limit of human endurance. And your collar undoubtedly was made by these slaves in Troy, for 89.5 of the millions of collars manufactured each year in the United States are made in the collar factories here.

Many of the wage slaves in Troy work as much as 80 hours a week. In about 50 per cent. of the sordid homes there are high speed sewing machines which rumble long into the morning hours.

Nearly everybody in Troy is connected with the collar and shirt-making industry. There are 28,000 wage slaves in the city, and the Chamber of Commerce states that 68 per cent. of them are employed in the collar factories. The Chamber of Commerce boasts that "Troy Collars the World." Troy also collars the frail girls and women who make the collars, but in a different sense of the word.

In the starching room it is so hot in the summer time that it is a matter of frequent occurrence for girls and women to faint. Some are hauled away like so many sacks of flour, while it is said that during the middle of the summer so many workers collapse that they are permitted to remain unconscious on the floor until they slowly revive. Should some of them become seriously ill by their experience, it makes little difference to the factory barons. There are plenty of other slaves to take their places.

Some of the machines, operated by women who are as much machines as the arrangements of metal before them, make 4,200 button holes daily. Some of the girls, in a semmingly impossible manner, are made to operate two machines, and make about 8,000 button holes daily.

And besides their long hours of toil, these victims of the capitalistic systems are fined for everything imaginable. If they are a minute late for work in the morning, they are "docked" part of their day's earnings. Should they be late very often they are locked out. This is what they call "discipline." Every collar and shirt made is carefully inspected. Should there be even the slightest imperfection, the girl responsible is fined. Talking is strictly against the rules and punishable by big fines. There are numerous other "offenses" which are considered good excuses for reducing the earnings of the workers.

Mrs. N. P. Skully, general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, who is trying to organize the collar factory slaves, says the average earnings of the girls is between $10 and $12 a week. But they do not make even this all the year around. As it is more profitable for the owners to operate their factories at full speed and make artificial "rush seasons," work is not evenly distributed, and for about six months of the year the girls work only half time.

About a year ago some of the men workers, who constitute a small mapority in the collar factories, organized. They are now receiving from $25 to $30 a week, while formerly they got only $12 to $14.

WOE OF EUROPE—WASTE OF LABOR

President Gompers Writes Sadly of the Blood Lust Across the Great Waters.

Those nations that have not been drawn into the European horror can only vaguely imagine the stupendous destruction and waste, the well-nigh inconceivable pain and suffering. The world of peace and art has been transformed into a world of slaughter and strife. Armies of millions face armies of equal strength, seeking for an advantage to take the lives of fellow-beings. Millions have already given their lives in this war; probably many more will go out in the grim clash of battle or be lost in the depths of the sea.

Those who have gone to the great beyond leave upon the living this mis-

sion and responsibility—to see to it that it shall never happen again. If out of the war horror there shall come greater reverence for life and human welfare, together with an opportunity for the people to rule, the war will not have been in vain or altogether hateful. But that achievement must depend altogether upon the intelligent asservativeness of the people.

Those primarily interested in establishing democracy everywhere are the working people who constitute so large a part of the population of every country, and who have not yet secured representation in international relations, aye, or even in their own national government; who have inadequate representation for their interests and ideals.

The workers have a close earth grip; they deal with concrete problems and primary interests; they live in the daily struggle for existence, not above it. Consequently their viewpoint is very different from that of professional diplomats and politicians who govern the majority if not all of the countries. John Galsworthy describes the probable effect of democratizing international relations thus:

"If proof be needed that the prevalence of democracy will end aggression among nations that belong to the same stage of development, secure the rights of small peoples, foster justice and humaneness in man—let the history of this last century and a half be well and not superficially examined and let the human probabilities be weighed. Which is the more likely to advocate wars of aggression? They who by age, position, wealth, are secure against the daily pressure of life, they who have passed their time out of touch with the struggle for existence, in an atmosphere of dreams, ambitions and power over other men, or they who every hour are reminded how hard life is, even at its most prosperous moments; who have nothing to gain by war, and all, even life, to lose; who by virtue of their own struggles have a deep knowledge of the struggles of their fellow creatures an instructive repugnance to making those struggles harder, who have heard little and dreamed less of those so-called 'national interests,' that are so often mere chimeras; who love, no doubt, in their inarticulate way, the country where they were born and the modes of life and thought to which they are accustomed, but know of no traditional and artificial reasons why the men of other countries should not be allowed to love their own lands and modes of thought and life in equal peace and security?"

It is because democracy and principles of human welfare will only come through the efforts of the workers that the American labor movement has manifested such deep concern that the workers of all countries shall have a voice in determining treaties at the close of the war. The spirit and the provisions of the peace treaties will have an incalculable influence upon the nature and the degree of world progress for years to come.

It is useless to expect treaty provisions which place human interests paramount, unless an element that has reverence for human welfare is injected into the peace council. Conventional diplomats have ever forgotten the masses who fought the war and have formulated treaties for the benefit of those who profit from exploitation.

After the American Federation of Labor's first proposition was formally rejected by the British trade union movement and had been declared impracticable by the leader of the German labor movement is was necessarily abandoned. But it is unthinkable that the world's workers shall fail to take advantage of so great an opportunity. The Baltimore convention; that the labor movements of all countries that shall participate in the World Peace Congress to determine terms and conditions of peace at the close of this terrible war, urge upon their

necessary protective legisla-
ident Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

respective governments to accord representation to wage-earners in the delegation representing their respective countries.

Such a provision would democratize the Peace Congress and would give the masses direct representation for their rights, needs, interests and safety. The workers have a right to direct representation in all matters that concern their welfare and lives. The viewpoint of the workers is different from that of those who live above the life struggle—it is simple, virile and does not lack in breadth or idealism.

No incident of modern times is more hope-filled than the intelligent alertness of the labor movement of the United States and Mexico toward international relations that threatened war. The workers upon whom the brunt of the probable war would have fallen wanted to know why war was necessary. The representatives met to talk over conditions in order to give the workers of both nations the facts. The force of honest, informed public opinion banished the shadow of war.

If the workers of all countries join hands in the spirit of true fraternity they can solve their common problems and give strength to each other for the solution of problems in their own respective countries.

Upon the workers of all countries devolves the responsibility to see to it that fellow workers do not fight this war in vain—that democracy and internationalism shall consecrate the blood-stained battlefields to humanity.—*Samuel Gompers.*

THE JOBLESS MAN.

With prophetic instinct Lord Macaulay once wrote to an American friend: "Wages will be as low and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be some time out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test."

Was it of this very day and condition the great essayist wrote? Are not our institutions being put to the test as never before? Will they be equal to the test?

Said Carlyle: "A man willing to work and unable to find work is perhaps the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

O, we have him! He is about us on every hand. We feel the chill of his dependent heart. We are haunted by the hopelessness that envelops him. Like a muzzled hungry horse in a luxuriant pasture. Like a stinged fish on a float in the middle of a stream. He stands beside us on the corner. He brushes our elbows in the street. His pleading face belies his proud heart and asks for a crust of bread. His weary, wasting body aches for a cheap bed. He is not a myth. He is not a stranger. He is our neighbor. There is no poverty half as tragic as that of the workingman.

"Who begs a brother of the earth
To give him leave to toil."

It won't do to preach to him. An empty stomach is stony ground for the seed of the Gospel. It won't do to tell him to be temperate and industrious. He is forced to the former and denied the opportunity of the latter. It won't do to pass resolutions of sympathy. He will see hypocrisy. It won't do to offer him charity. If he's a man he won't accept it, and if he isn't, he doesn't deserve it.

A jobless man, if he's decent, wants a decent job. And a decent job is not a soft one or an aristocratic one, but any one that will give him and those who depend upon him a decent living.

A soldier going to the front to serve his government should be able to do so in the full conviction that those he leaves behind will be fully safeguarded by the same government from the plundering rapacity of the food and fuel vultures.

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Editorial.

If the costs of war in human life and material were to fall only upon the property interests, would there be an incentive for such beastly carnivals as are now staged in Europe today?

To demand the pound of flesh from the disarmed, tied, and bound, who face the executioner, is less merciful than the cannibal who killed and cooked his human victim and satiated his gluttonous appetite thereon. Is there a name in the calendar that properly fits such a sane human being?

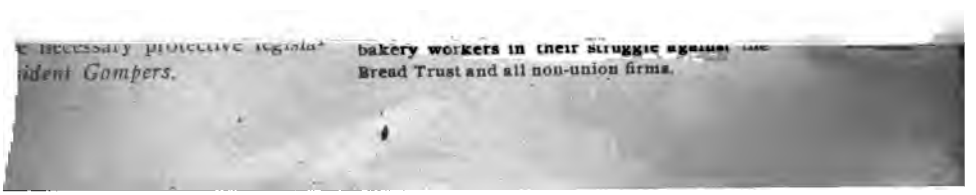
How much freight will the train of thought you indulged in yesterday carry? Did you weigh it to see? Are you satisfied with the payment you got for it?

The workers being in the majority are called upon in time of war to give the most of human life in the struggle. It is therefore, incumbent upon wealth to pay its toil from the wealth accumulated from the toil of the workers.

Which is the worst, the man who openly and actively opposes conscription and refuses to register, or the hyena that profits on the adversity of the many? A law has been quickly made to penalize the former; will there not be a law made to properly fit the latter? If not, why?

A new definition for incompetency, or an expansion to suit a biased mind—we are at a loss to know which—has been given by the president of the Washington Electric Railway. He made this statement upon the witness stand, "that a motorman or conductor who joins the union of his calling, or discusses it, becomes incompetent." This company had a strike of its men last March, as they opposed the organization of the men into a union and discharged all the union men, stating that they were incompetent. The incongruity of the thing, brought out by the Senate Committee on Investigation, was that some of the same men who failed to stick by the union became perfectly competent after they applied for their jobs as non-union men. There are some things so hot that they burn the skin, but this burns in deep. This definition will now be taken up and pushed along by some of our injunction-shooting judges, as some of the older reasons are wearing threadbare.

The conservation of food is receiving much attention in official Washington, which is good so far as it goes, but we hear little said about the fuel question, and the coal prices keep mounting. Re-



cently we paid $5.50 per ton, then it was recorded at $6.50; inquiry the other day with our coal man elicited the consoling information that the price was now $7.50, and he could give no assurance that it would not go higher; he rather thought an advance was in early prospect. On further questioning he said he considered it a hold-up game of which he was a victim as well as the customers he usually supplied. If any relief was coming, it ought to come before the first of July; if not then, he saw no hope.

Government officials of high and low degree are importuning us all to be willing to make sacrifices in this emergency, and implied penalties are in store for those who do not willingly make them. We are urgently requested to refrain from the consumption of any food articles that have a smack of luxury about them. Our youths are going into the ranks for active duty, those they leave behind are sacrificing many ordinary pleasures to do their bit. The food conservators have the right of way in the columns of the papers, with the added support of the editorial columns; but little is said about the ruthless coal barons, who reply to inquiry, "that they are making hay while the sun shines; that stormy days may be just over the hills, when the fat rendering will not be so rich in result." Let us hope that when the food conservators get through with that part of their appointed service, they, or some one else, will turn their attention to the fuel proposition which, while not as important perhaps as the food question, is next in the running, and bring into being or a living reality the sentiment expressed in the maxim, that "He who laughs last laughs best." There would be a sense of satisfaction in having a broad smile, if not a good laugh, at a cartoon which represented a reality in the sight of the coal baron vigorously wriggling and squirming in the firmly emplanted heel of the law of sacrifice, supplemented by law of governmental force. Let us wait and see.

There never was a time in our history when organization of labor was more necessary than right now. During this fearful conflict, into which an ever increasing number of our marching boys will move, the vultures they leave behind, unhappily are not the kind that feed on the bodies of the dead in the wake of battle. They are a breed that live and fatten on the drops of blood sweated by the soul-stirred and fear-strained workers who remain to keep the house open and warm for those who may return in whole or maimed condition after the battles are over, and to give them a welcome and a meal from what is left in the barrel. The workers at home need the protecting influence of efficient organization—an organization that the worker may go to for assistance when it is most needed. It is in times of such as the present, when public attention is engaged in other matters, that the predatory interests seek an opportunity to wrest from the workers advantages that have been dearly bought in calmer seasons when attention to wrongs inflicted could be riveted and the wrongs righted by law, or through the influence of public opinion. When the darkness of conflict comes, these interests, like the thief in the night, steals in to rob the worker of his gains in wages and conditions, and to break down the walls of protection that were built up during normal times. It is then that the labor union, when strongly organized, may step in and say to Mr. Employer, "thus far thou mayest come, but no farther. During peaceful times, so far as international conflict was concerned, we built up this bulwark of portection, and now that many of our members are fighting in the field of battle for your protection, as well as ours, you come like a robber in the darkness, seeking to take the treasures we bought so dearly when our brothers were with

us. Now that they are away, we will fight for those things gained, as hard as our brothers are fighting for the world's liberties on the field of international conflict. We will not have our brothers come home with victory perched on their brows, and find that we have been recreant in our duties at home, and lost those things which together we battled for and won. The charter is ours—ours to keep and cherish, and to improve upon when necessity demands. These things can only be done through the maintenance of our trade unions. As vigilance is the price of liberty, so it is with our union; we must keep the deck watch. The submarine influence of selfish greed is ever sailing around our ship of state, hoping to find a vulnerable point of attack for the launching of their torpedo by which they may destroy that bulwark of protection that has been built up and made to adhere by a mortar mixed with the tears of adversity and the sweated blood-drops from the hands of infant toil. The ship we must not give up, even if half our brothers are away. We must fight a good fight and keep the lamps of progress brilliantly burning, lending cheer to our returning heroes when the battles for a world's democracy shall have been won.

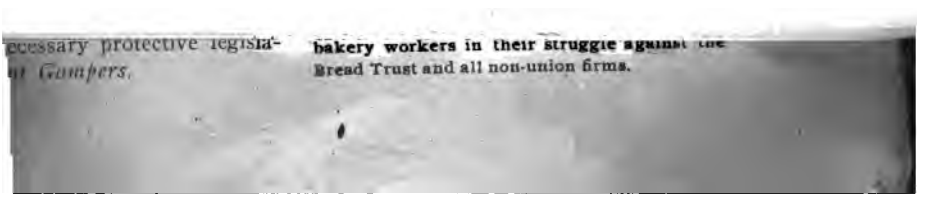
NOT SO YOU CAN NOTICE IT.

While traveling on a train not long since, and seated just ahead of two gentlemen, evidently in a manufacturing line, who were discussing the war issues and their relation to business and labor, among the assertions made by one of the gentleman was this: "There is one thing certain this war will do for us, and that is, it will wipe out these d——d labor unions that have been such a nuisance and a growing interference for some years back." The other gentleman said: "I am afraid I cannot agree with you on that—my opinion is, that the labor unions will come out of this thing stronger than they ever were. Upon what do you base your opinion?" In reply the first gentleman said: "Well, the first thing we will do is to tear down some of the laws they have had enacted for their own protection and our detriment, some of this child labor law, some of this short-hour legislation for women, and the over-time that these labor agitators are pushing so that they may hold their fat jobs." "I must differ with you in your summing up of that situation. The framing up in Washington and the experience of the British and French governments indicate, to my mind, that our government is going to lean no little weight of dependence on, and co-operation with, the labor unions, and I think you will find that any attempt on the part of employing interests to induce State or National legislatures to suspend labor protective laws now in force will be frowned upon and discouraged by official Washington; and Washington will have the support of public opinion. So I think the best thing we can do is to go along with the popular will at this time, as Washington does not want any embarrassment while their attention is directed to this European conflict."

This is a sample of what is uppermost in the minds of some of the Industrial Captains. They would, if they could, seize upon a season of distraction to give Labor a solar plexus blow, and at a moment of trial, attempt to submarine protective laws that have taken years of effort and thought to educate public opinion to see from a human point of view and have moulded into law.

Those of the interests who attempt anything like that will find eyes other than their own, and brains with conception will divine the attempt, and opposition of no mean character will be aroused and ready to meet the intended blow.

The hope of some of the employers here is evidently similar to that of the employers in England during the early days of the war, when all effort was



centered on the idea of speeding up and maintaining top speed with long hours, stretched to the limit of endurance. This proved such a rank failure that the government stepped in, and put into force a regulation which was within the limit of human endurance and susceptible maintenance without injury to the worker.

The British Government entered into an agreement with the trade unions which has resulted in a steady and sufficient output of munitions with a flexible wage scale which permits increases as the cost of living advances. Another result is, that the trade unions have increased in membership nearly half as much again as it was before the war started and are growing at a good healthy rate.

Does Mr. American Employer think, in the face of the experience of the British trade unions before us, we are going to allow the gains of years to be taken from us while our attention and service is being given to our country, and to protect our employers' interests as much as our own? "Not so you can notice it," while we have eyes to see, and the hand and will be lifted against it.

It is a happy day for this country and Great Britain that the organized forces of government find in the organized forces of labor a hand of co-operation, and with the successful results that come from organized effort, organized labor has proven that it is as necessary a factor to the success at arms as in other enterprises. Let us hope that predatory interests who are so bitterly opposed to the organized forces of labor will not further use submarine tactics against organized labor while it is engaged in the protection of our country's most vital interests.

LABOR WINS ITS PLACE.

The Boston *Globe*, editorially speaking May 21 has the following to say of labor:

"When Samuel Gompers presents the demands of organized labor in war, and insists that 'representatives of wage-earners must be upon every board, National, State and local, that has to do with the administration of the Conscription act,' his right to do so goes unquestioned.

"Unquestioned, too, was President Wilson's selection as two principal members of the Russian Commission of a prominent trade union leader, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, and International President of The Granite Cutters' Association of America, and one of the best-known American Socialists, unqualified in his champinoship of the cause of labor.

"Labor has attained a new position of authority. Not that its representatives have vaulted into high places during the confusion of a world war, while the attention of governments has been directed at the foe beyond the gates; labor leaders have been needed in those places and called to them. They have been consulted concerning the conduct of the war in order to prevent confusion.

"In other days wars were hand-to-hand conflicts between great masses of men, more or less directed by their officers. Today war is between machines. To win it on the first line, victory must have been supplied from the lathes, the forges and the mills. Because, man for man, mechanics count for more than soldiers, labor is now represented in the seats of the mighty. Those who wage a war must assist in its direction.

"Kitchener, a great soldier of the past, raised his army without enough regard for the labor force at home. Therefore the war did not begin when His Lordship said it would. There were not shells enough. So dire was the need for munitions that the strongest in the realm, a man of the present and of the future, was drafted to remedy the lack. A new office, that of munitions, was created, and Lloyd George chosen to fill it.

"Long a friend of labor, the Welsh

genius sensed what part it must play in war. Taking office, he found that but one-fifth of the lathes were worked at night. In two weeks no one of them ever stopped except for repairs.

"With the change came a new British attitude toward labor, an understanding lacking before. The change has paid. For the past year England has been averaging $3,000,000 a day on munitions alone. Before labor was taken into partnership such an output was not possible. The increase of shells has spelled the difference between former costly assaults starved for lack of food for the guns and the recent successes on the Western front.

"When Lloyd George was required in the Premiership, Arthur Henderson, a labor man, was given a place in the inner council.

"Albert Thomas, a leader of French labor forces, sits in Ribot's Cabinet as Minister of Manufactures, a position which includes oversight of munitions and transportation. France has selected Thomas to go to Russia because of his understanding of the most important Russian party, the party of the workers.

"It was Russian labor acting with Russian soldiers that brought about the revolution. In the new Russia the burden of organization must fall upon the men who feed the battle front and those who fight upon it.

"Hindenburg makes appeals to German labor. Bethmann-Hollweg shows great respect for its representatives. The mighty strength of Germany is largely the strength of the men and women behind the munitions machines in German shops and factories.

"America's measure of participation in the war will be largely affected by American labor. How quickly the selective army can bear the flag to France depends upon the shipwrights building hulls of steel and wood or repairing seized liners, upon the workers filling the requirements of our armies in the factories of the land.

"Fortunately the miserable handling of the Mooney case in San Francisco is not characteristic of our attitude toward labor. The fact that our labor leaders have come forward to help with Russia, that they have gathered masters of capital in conference at Washington to discuss with the British Labor Commissioners the workers' part in war, represents the real position of America toward labor and of labor toward America.

The tremendous demands upon our workshops will bring their problems. As each appears it must be met in a spirit of fairness, discussed as between friends, and settled so that it will stay settled.

"War far more than peace demands co-operation in industry. There must be no sides taken. All are engaged in a struggle against a foreign foe. America's treatment of its workers must carefully preserve the gains they have already won and must place no burdens upon them which military necessity does not absolutely demand."

"LET ALL WORKERS GET BEHIND LEVER BILL," IS STIRRING APPEAL OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

WASHINGTON, June 16. — President Gompers has called upon every trade union, central body, state federation of labor, national and international organization, and the individual members of organized labor to get behind the Lever food administration bill, which has been reported favorably by the House Committee on Agriculture.

This bill creates government control of necessities, prohibits hoarding and cornering products and illegitimate speculation by stabilizing prices at the most effective point in the distributive chain.

"Since the war wages have not kept pace with increasing costs of living," says President Gompers. "They have remained practically stationary, while prices have more than doubled. The only

necessary protective legisla- *Gompers.*

bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

practical way to increase the spending incomes of all is to decrease the costs of living."

If the speculators and allied interests can postpone action until after July 1 the purpose of the Lever bill will be defeated, as contracts for much of this year's food products will be made, beginning with that date.

Speculators will urge caution in passing this important legislation, but you can wrench the food of this nation from their grasp and increase the value of your pay envelope if you act today.

Urge the passage of the Lever food administration bill.

Notify your Congressman and Senators to this effect; have your unions do likewise; also your neighbors. And inform the President of the United States of your action that he may be supported by an aroused public opinion.

Let Washington know that the workers demand relief from the high cost of living and that they insist on the immediate passage of the Lever bill.

INJUNCTION FIGHT LOST BY UNIONISTS.

SACRAMENTO, CAL., June 16.—Governor Stephens has "pocket vetoed" labor's anti-injunction bill by taking no action within the time prescribed by law.

This legislation was passed by both branches of the legislature after a sensational contest that was marked by unusual opposition on the part of anti-union employers.

The bill was drafted along the lines of the Federal Clayton act, and sections 1 and 2 read as follows:

"Section 1—It shall not be unlawful for working men and women to organize themselves into, or carry on labor unions for the purpose of lessening the hours of labor or increasing the wages

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

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Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

◆◆

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

or bettering the conditions of the members of such organizations; or carrying out their legitimate purposes as freely as they could do if acting singly.

"Section 2—No restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of this State, or any judge or judges thereof, in any case between an employer and employe, or between employers and employes, or between employes, or between persons employed and persons seeking employment, involving, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and such property or property right must be described with particularity in the application, which must be in writing and sworn to by the applicant, or by his agent or attorney."

TRUST IN STATE ACTION STAYS HUMAN EFFORTS.

OAKLAND, CAL., May 12.—"A blind confidence in sympathy and an indolent trust in State action must not supplant intelligent effort by the workers," declared Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary of the State Federation of Labor, in discussing minimum wage legislation before the State Conference of Social Agencies. The speaker showed that advocates of this plan have nothing new from the history of England in the sixteenth century.

"Organized labor," he said, "believes that the functions of trade unions will expand with the advance of democracy in industry and that they cannot be superseded by State action without imminent danger to civilization.

"We all want a minimum or 'living wage' for every man and woman who toils, but we are not prepared to accept this kind of legislation as a solution of the labor problem. We feel certain if we accept the process of reasoning upon which this proposed legislation is based, it will be only a question of time until other far more objectionable laws will be advocated and placed upon the statutes. Thus the workers' economic movement will be surrounded with numerous legislative restrictions which will not only interfere with all the normal functions of our organizations, but actually

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YEARS OF SATISFACTION

necessary protective legisla-
ist Gompers.

bakery workers in their struggle against the
Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

retard the healthy development and growth of the labor movement.

"We have been asked what we propose to offer as a substitute for minimum wage laws. We say, let the large and small employers co-operate with organized labor instead of antagonizing it. Let the churches and societies of the learned and the wealthy encourage instead of frown upon the associated efforts of the working people.

"And finally, let all public-spirited men and women who are anxious to help the underpaid working girls, work together with the organized men and women of labor to achieve the desired results. But, above all, give them the opportunity to help themselves. This may mean a little personal sacrifice and annoyance, but will surely bring more real and lasting benefits than any legislative enactments."

"THE LEAST OF THESE."

War Has a Subtle Meaning for Children—England's Experience Illuminating.

War imposes a severe strain upon childhood. Europe's experience indicates how great is the problem of maintaining educational and working standards for little children, to the end that the nation's fibre and vitality shall not be impaired.

Cecil Leeson, of the Howard Association (London), figures that juvenile offenses have increased 34 per cent. since the beginning of the war, and that thefts have increased 50 per cent. Sir James Yoxall, M. P., is quoted as estimating that from 150,000 to 200,000 children betwee the ages of 11 and 13 have been released from school to go to work.

Commenting upon child labor in manufacturing war supplies, the Health of Munition Workers Committee appointed by the British Minister of Munitions, says: "It is to be remembered that boys and girls need a sufficient reserve not only for the maintenance of health, but for growth. Even under normal conditions, there is some danger of juvenile employment adversely affecting physique and the danger is materially increased by the present conditions of employment. Long hours of work by day or by night, often coupled with unsatisfactory conditions of housing and transit, late hours and lack of parental care, make the dangers grave and immediate."

Our duty in the United States was emphasized by Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, in a recent address, when he said:

"The childhood of the present generation will suffer irreparable loss unless those of us who have dedicated ourselves to the protection of these defenseless ones keep our heads clear and our motives unmixed, determining that whatever happens all other treasure, all other forms of wealth, all other methods of defense shall be sacrificed before we compel the children of America to pass through the fire."

DO YOU KNOW

That 35 per cent. of the wives and mothers of workingmen are forced to work to keep the wolf from the door?

That $500 per year is the income of half of the wage-earning fathers?

That less than $15 per week is the wage of two-thirds of the adult male workers?

That nearly half the women workers earn less than $6 a week?

That three or more persons occupy every sleeping room in 37 per cent. of the workers' home?

That babies of the poor die three times as fast as those of the rich?

That nearly 20 per cent. of the school children in this country are underfed and under-nourished?

That economic pressure forces two-thirds of all children to leave grammar school before graduating and only 10 per cent. finish high school?

That workers in basic industries are out of jobs one-fifth of the time?

That there are forty-four families in the United States with incomes equal to 100,000 workingmen?

That industrial conditions are responsible for our biggest crime problems?

That two per cent. of the people own 60 per cent. of the wealth and 65 per cent. own less than 5 per cent. of the wealth?

That an array of facts gleaned from the report of the Federal Relations Commission in its two-year investigation should shame the citizenship of the United States, and cause every thoughtful man and woman in this country to tremble for the perpetuity of a nation wherein they exist?

ESTABLISH POOR MAN'S COURT.

WILMINGTON, DEL., May 5.—A "poor man's court" will be established in this city under authority of a law passed by the last legislature. This court will have jurisdiction over non-criminal cases and damage cases ranging as high as $500. Matters of damages involving only a few dollars can be called at once, the difficulty be set forth in a statement to the judge, witnesses called, the hearing given and everything settled in at most 30 days. Heavy expenses of the trial and a huge fee to a lawyer are avoided. It is not necessary to have a jury, but one varying in size from three to five members may be called as in a referee's court.

Unlike the Supreme Court and Court of General Sessions, the "poor man's court" will be in session all the time except in July and August. It may sit then. The judge will be one of the regular State judges.

It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, having capital somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . . Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, could never have existed if labor had not first existed.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

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to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Made (REGISTERED) LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

STRONGHOLD

STRONG HOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

...ary protective legisla-
... *Gompers.*

bakery workers in their str...
Bread Trust and all non-union...

AUG 15 1917

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of the
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Editorial.

If some of our critics were judged by their errors, as they are so prone to judge us, their measure of rating would not run as high as they are forced to give us.

Present conditions of living, and the necessity for the practice of economy should be a good boosting time for the organizing of co-operative societies, and for the education along taxation laws. All taxes should be placed against the land, and not fine a man for the improving of his landed property.

During the year the English people spent $5.25 per head for tobacco supplies.

The Attorney General of the State of Kansas says it is a violation of the anti-cigarette law to sell a newspaper or a mazazine that carries an advertisement of any cigarettes. This applies on all trains passing through the State and at all news stands.

The irrepressible Teddy pulled off a stunt in New York recently that, we think, he would give more than a penny to have expunged from the minds of his hearers, and from the columns of the press. He did no harm to the one he outraged, and we feel that President Gompers does not feel any smaller because of the assault; on the contrary, the manner in which he received the abuse and replied to it, raised him many notches higher in the estimation of those who saw and read of the incident.

We cannot afford to let our efforts flag and be slackers on the job of organization at any time, but now, especially, with the cost of living soaring and the "$" or its purchasing power decreasing in value more and more as the war progresses. Our wages can only be kept in measure with the advancing costs through organization, more organization, and still more organization. Our employers are boosting the products of labor, which they control, and they do it through organization, which they are maintaining, as they know that their safety lies in organization. What is good for them in that direction must also be good for us. Labor would be in a stronger position if it gave more thought efficiency in its own protection.

The trade union movement is a business institution; its business is to secure for the membership the right to live and the pursuit of happiness. It does not look for sympathy, charity or anything of the kind; it expects to pay its way,

HARVARD COLLEGE
AUG 15 1917
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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 JULY, 1917 No. 7

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The Tobacco Worker.

LABOR AFTER THE WAR.

Workingmen of the World Will Profit by the Triumph of Democracy.

"Organized and unorganized workmen—skilled and unskilled labor—will be definitely the gainers by the triumph of democracy in this war."

That is the prediction of James William Sullivan, who for thirty years has been one of the active men in the American Federation of Labor. He has recently returned from Europe, where at the suggestion of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, he attempted to arrange a conference of representatives of organized labor in the belligerent countries to be held coincidentally with the peace conference whenever and wherever it is held. Mr. Sullivan is assistant to Mr. Gompers as member of the advisory committee of the Council of National Defense.

Mr. Sullivan anticipates that for an indefinite and prolonged period after the war wages will be much higher than ever before, both for skilled and unskilled workmen. The demands of the reconstruction period offer sufficient explanation. General prosperity may be assumed to follow, thanks to the general speeding up of commerce and the increased diffusion of money through the wage channel. The statisticians of the American Federation of Labor have been able to demonstrate that social prosperity follows each increase of the wage scale.

"Give 22,000 workmen $2 more each week and 200 merchants will benefit," is his illustration.

An increase in class prosperity invariably means greater solidarity and hence greater political power for the workman. Broadly speaking, a betterment in social conditions has followed each addition in political power gained by organized labor.

"We fought for child labor laws and for the protection of women workers long before any of the societies now advocating these reforms were in the field," said he. "The fundamental law is now with us. We take as a matter of course that we will win each injunction case in the higher courts, for we only ask freedom of speech, press and movement. The trend of lawmaking is with us."

Mr. Sullivan anticipates that "the unequal distribution of wealth will be to some extent corrected." Great Britain has set the example. Death duties there take a large proportion of the greater estates and income taxes take an increasingly larger part of an income in proportion as it increases. He believes something of the same sort will be developed in America. "There will be the conscription of wealth in some form. Taxation will be reduced to a more exact science than it has ever been."

PROTECTS CHILDREN.

New York's New Labor Law Provides For Better Education.

The Wellington law, the New York State child labor statute, which went into effect Feb. 1, provides that children must remain in school until they are fifteen before they can receive permits to work. Only those children can go to work before they are fifteen who are graduates of elementary schools. It is believed that the number of children leaving school will be materially decreased under the new law.

The Wellington law imposes upon the State Industrial Commission the duty of supervising the issuing of work permits to children by the health officers.

George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, said "The members of the committee are much gratified at the advance in the standards of child protection which are accomplished through the Wellington law. It should be clearly understood that the law does not affect the 50,000 children of the State who have been legally certified to go to work during the last year. Not a single child will be taken out of a factory or store as a result of the new law. It affects only the children who will seek work permits from now on."

IN AID OF LABOR.

Bills Before Various State Legislatures Affecting Workingmen.

Of bills affecting labor those concerning workmen's compensation are in the majority. States in which compensation laws may be passed for the first time are Delaware, Missouri, North Carolina, North and South Dakota and Utah. Bills to amend existing laws range from those in New York to extend the law to all employes and to increase weekly payments to 100 per cent of wages, to the Indiana bill to exempt train employes and the one in Minnesota to repeal the law altogether. In California, Indiana and Minnesota it is proposed to reduce waiting time to one week; in another bill in Minnesota and in Massachusetts and New York, to abolish it altogether. Amendments offered in Illinois and Massachusetts would permit the commutation of weekly payments in a lump sum. Other bills propose to increase the proportion of wages to be paid in compensation to 65 per cent. in Indiana, to 66⅔ per cent. in Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire and Oklahoma, and to 75 per cent. in Wisconsin. In Minnesota, New Jersey and Utah state funds are proposed. Ohio has passed a law prohibiting casualty insurance companies altogether from handling compensation business.

In Indiana there is a bill requiring the injured employe to accept the doctor furnished by the employer, while in Maine, Massachusetts and Minnesota there are bills to permit the employe to select his own physician. An Indiana bill would provide a judge in each congressional district to administer the law; another bill would require the consideration of bonuses in determining the wage which is to be the basis for compensation payments. A Massachusetts bill would permit a man hired within the state to recover for an injury even if it occurred outside the state. In Rhode Island there is a proposal to extend medical and hospital treatment for a period of four weeks. Washington would amend its law by providing for first aid.—*Survey.*

TO PERMIT STRIKES.

Senate Reaffirms Privileges Granted by the Clayton Act.

Through an amendment accepted by the United States Senate to the Newlands preferential shipping bill "peaceable striking" would be permitted in wartime among railroad men. The amendment, offered by Senator Hollis

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

of New Hampshire, reaffirms the strike privilege granted under the Clayton act.

"What right has the Senate to say men must work under conditions that may be intolerable?" Senator Hollis demanded. "We have the right to say whether they shall be allowed to use violence in asserting their rights, but further than that we ought not attempt to legislate a man's job. Under the terms of this bill as it stands we would brand a man a criminal who decided that he could not work under any conditions imposed by railroads. He could be put in jail. I simply ask that the Senate maintain for the railroad men of this country the right to walk out when they find conditions intolerable."

Senator Borah wanted to know if Senator Hollis did not think it wrong for a railroad man to quit his job at a crisis that might mean the paralysis of food transportation.

Senator Hollis insisted that nothing ought to prevent "peaceable striking" in war or peace time.

"At least we ought not pass this character of legislation without consulting the labor organizations," he maintained.

"How has the Brotherhood of Trainmen got into this bill?" demanded Senator Borah. "I don't doubt their loyalty, but I want to ask who is going to say when some men may prove disloyal in this war?"

KEEPING UP WITH LIFE.

It is the keeping up with life that counts—the faculty of making ourselves a part of it, not the mere act of watching it pass by. Because a man has seen happier days, because memories of the past cast their wistful sadness over him, because life can never again be what it once was it does not follow that we may not find happiness again. If we lose interest in the developments that time brings and persist in living in the past we must not be surprised if failure sets its heavy hand upon us and marks us for its own, says Charleston *News and Courier*. A man cannot make headway if he voluntarily withdraws from the new activities which gradually develop simply because he does not approve of them. The things of the past belong to the past. Their memory may serve to hallow the present, but it is the events that are happening now with which we have to cope, and which we must take into consideration. One of the most pathetic sights in life is the loneliness of one who seems to have outlived his day. His plight cannot be remedied unless with his hearty co-operation, and it is just this latter condition that is lacking, as a rule. The man who lives in the past does so deliberately and unnecessarily. For some reason he cannot catch the swing of life, he does not know how to turn its corners and meet with anticipation that which lies ahead, or to cut for himself new paths when his progress seems blocked. He is more inclined to feel that fate has played him a mean trick because it has not permitted his life to continue to run uninterruptedly in its even course.

"ANTI-IDLENESS" LAW USED AGAINST UNIONS.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., July 14.—The legislature, at its present session, passed a so-called "vagrancy act" under the pretext of aiding the war by putting professional vagrants to work. Under this act it is unlawful for any citizen of this state between the ages of 16 and 60 to fail to work a certain number of hours.

And now the inevitable has happened —the act is being used to break strikes.

Because miners employed by the Monte Coal Company at Ottawa were not permitted to present grievances to the management, they suspended work, and the company seized upon the vagrancy law to drive them back to their employment. Two miners and their sons were arrested and the company employed an attorney to assist the county prosecutor.

At the trial it was shown that one of the miners had secured employment elsewhere and was arrested while on his way to work. The jury could not agree in this case and the trial was transferred to Madison at the request of the company, which claimed an impartial jury could not be secured at Clothier.

Coal companies lobbied for an anti-strike law at the last session of the legislature, but were defeated by organized labor. The vagrancy law is used for the same purpose, while the companies loudly proclaim that "we must win this war that democracy may survive."

LABOR'S FAIR SHARE.

The "dignity of labor" sounds well from the rostrum, but the men and women who do the world's work and produce the world's wealth are rapidly learning that their dignity as well as their happiness depends upon their insistence on a more equitable distribution of the products of their toil. They have learned that the only way to secure anything like a fair division is by organized effort through banding together in unions for the raising of wages and the shortening of the hours of toil. Through such organized effort they have raised the standard of living for every worker.

PRICES JUMP 250 PER CENT.

CHICAGO, July 14.—In its report to Judge Landis, the federal grand jury points out that canned tomatoes, in the spring of 1916, were sold through brokers for future delivery to wholesalers and jobbers at 90 cents a dozen cans, while these same tomatoes are being sold today by wholesalers and jobbers to retailers for $2.25 and more.

"Canners, wholesalers and jobbers have devised some means for insuring complete co-operation among themselves which results in keeping the canner from dealing directly with the consumer or the retailer," reads the finding of the jury.

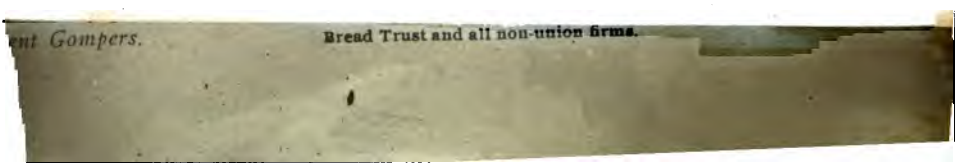
"If retailers attempt to resist the combination by purchasing directly from the canner they find it difficult or impossible to do any further business with the wholesalers or jobbers as to other groceries. This situation compels the consumer to pay the expense of maintaining these middlemen who exert the power that inheres in this system to extort unconscionable profits from consumers with no proportionate benefit to the farmers, canners and such retailers as are satisfied with a reasonable profit above the cost."

LINCOLN'S PROPHECY.

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As the result of war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all the wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of our country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my forebodings may be groundless.

"Monarchy itself is something hinted at as a refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit to raise a warning voice against the approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections not too hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention.

"It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital, that nobody labors unless somebody else owning capital somehow by the use of it, induces him to labor. Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor and could not have existed



if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves higher consideration. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering the power which they possess, and which, if surrendered will surely be used to shut the door of advancement for such as they, and fix new disabilities and burdens upon them until all liberty is lost.

"In the early days of our race, the Almighty said to the first of mankind, 'In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread.' And since then, if we except the light and air of heaven, no good thing can be enjoyed without first having cost labor. And, inasmuch as most good things have been produced by labor, it follows that all such things by right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened in all ages of the world that some have labored and others have, without labor, enjoyed a large portion of the fruits. That is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or nearly as much, is a worthy object of any government.

"It seems strange that any man should dare to ask God's assistance in wringing bread from the sweat of other men's faces.

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."—*Abraham Lincoln,* 1861.

THE MAN OF AGE.

Whenever age has stricken from a man his power of usefulness and activity there is demand for human sympathy. He may be the inmate of a home of luxury, or so placed that his bodily needs and the companionship of equals and friends may be all that is to be desired, still the old man whose life work has closed and who must sit idly by and watch the sands in the hour glass run swiftly out is an object of profound consideration, and should be given the veneration that his position and past deserve, says Pittsburg *Gazette-Times.* Of all human beings, who, through advancing years of bodily affliction have reached the limit of usefulness, man is the most pitiable. His has been lavish in its use. Unlike the woman or the child or the mentally and physically afflicted during life, he has been the world builder and the home maker. On his shoulders have rested the great tasks of life, the creation of a home, the support of a family and the achievement of great things in business and society. To lay these things all aside at the behest of Time's beckoning finger and the approaching decay of mind and body is a tragic thing, however much we may glorify the peace and calm that is said to come in the sunset days of life . The old man is largely a stranger in a land made strange by the absence of many of those with whom he began the journey.

The primary reason for the existence of a government is that every citizen shall be protected in his rights. It is this that distinguishes the state from other forms of human association. Its function is primarily protective. Upon this foundation rests all its special and peculiar prerogatives. Here is the reason for its authority, and this is limited by the reason for its existence. Society has manifold functions, but they may be normally left to individual and corporate enterprise within the state, which may be a complete and perfect "body politic" without them, says Century Magazine. On the other hand, these functions may be in part, and even to a great extent, taken over and performed by the state, but they are not necessary to its existence. They do, however, modify its character. When the state, in addition to its protective function, assumes those of industry, transportation and commerce, as the modern state sometimes does, it undergoes a radical transformation. It itself then becomes a business corporation, a rival and a competitor in the world of trade.

COLD STORAGE PLANTS BURSTING WITH FOOD.

WASHINGTON, July 21.—While profiteers and their defenders are offering various excuses for the high cost of living, a report issued by the federal department of agriculture shows that cold storage plants are bursting with food and that in one case 173 warehouses report the amount of butter held July 1, this year, was almost seven times greater than on July 1, last year.

Speculators say the war, supply and demand, faulty transportation and other causes are responsible for the high cost of living, but the agricultural report shows, in part:

"Frozen Beef—243 storages report a total of 105,174,204 pounds. 171 storages report 88,078,061 pounds, as compared with 55,109,049 pounds on July 1, 1916, an increase of 59.8 per cent. 221 storages report an increase of 4,642,361 pounds, or 4.6 per cent., during June, 1917. 136 storages report a decrease of 18,478,422 pounds, or 25.4 per cent., during June, 1916.

"Cured Beef—268 storages report a total of 34,560,268 pounds. 202 storages report 31,342,078 pounds, as compared with 18,915, 105 pounds on July 1, 1916, an increase of 65.7 per cent. 239 storages report an increase of 2,690,848 pounds, or 8.7 per cent., during June, 1917. 171 storages report an increase of 9,157 pounds, or 0.1 per cent., during June, 1916.

"Frozen Lamb and Mutton—121 storages report a total of 3,995,883 pounds. 81 storages report 3,143,744 pounds, as compared with 1,939,175 pounds on July 1, 1916, an increase of 62.1 per cent. 107 storages report an increase of 730,486 pounds, or 22.4 per cent., during June, 1917. 67 storages report a decrease of 357,738 pounds, or 15.8 per cent., during June, 1916.

Creamery Butter—289 storages report a total of 47,612,460 pounds; 217 storages report 44,633,595 pounds, as compared with 53,863,278 pounds on July 1, 1916, a decrease of 17.1 per cent.; 252 storages report an increase of 37,460,057 pounds, or 426.7 per cent., during June, 1917; 173 storages report an increase of 45,793,569 pounds, or 675.2 per cent., during June, 1916.

BIG BUSINESS GREED AROUSES PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, July 21.—In an address to mine operators and manufacturers of this country, President Wilson declares that patriotism has nothing to do with profits and that "patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances be mentioned together."

Because prices and freight rates are being boosted under the term "stimulating profits," President Wilson gives sharp answer to those business men who confound profit chasing with serving the nation.

Ship owners are not overlooked in the President's lashing, and he charges the vessel men with "doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure ,to make it possible," and that "those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany."

The President's views on these profiteers and exploiters of patriotism is contained in this declaration:

"It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business, with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical moments when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself trembles in the balance; but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country. Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

true man who stays behind to work for them and sustain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor.

"No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives will he not give at least his money?"

NO H. C. OF L. HERE.

WASHINGTON, July 21.—To illustrate the size of profits in these war times. United States Senator Pomerene of Ohio made public the following letter issued by the Bird Coal and Iron Company, Chicago, in soliciting stock subscriptions:

"Having purchased foundry iron for as low as $12 or $13 a ton during the past 12 months, you know that there must be a tremendous profit in it at the present market price of approximately $40 a ton. On a production of 6,000 tons a month, the capacity of our furnace, which will be ready to go in blast within six or eight weeks, you can easily figure what the profits will be when we can produce the iron for approximately $10 a ton and sell it at $40 a ton. A profit of $150,000 a month is well within reason, and on a capitalization of $1,100,000 will be in excess of 100 per cent. profit on the entire issue of the common stock of $1,000,000."

"These profits," said Senator Pomerene, "are almost equal to coal profits."

WHEN DADDY GETS A RAISE.

Clouds will rift, skies get clearer,
Paradise will seem much nearer,
Home, itself, a trifle dearer—
When daddy gets a raise.
There'll be pictures for the wall,
Pretty carpet on the hall,
Trinkets new, for one and all—
When daddy gets a raise.

Days for mother will be brighter,
She will hug the wee ones tighter,
For her task will then be lighter—
When daddy gets a raise.
With her needle and her yarn,
She'll not have to stitch and darn,
Sore of heart and tired of arm—
When daddy gets a raise.

Skies will seem a-turning bluer,
Holes and patches will be fewer,
For the duds will all be newer—
When daddy gets a raise.
Brother's breeches need not be
Amputated at the knee
For the baby boy of three—
When daddy gets a raise.

As the children swing and teeter,
I am sure they'll all look sweeter,
And, perhaps, a little neater—
When daddy gets a raise.
Willie's feelings won't be hurt
'Cause he has to wear a shirt
Made from mother's faded skirt—
When daddy gets a raise.

Mother's heartaches will be rarer,
All the world to her'll be fairer,
In its joys she'll be a sharer—
When daddy gets a raise.
There'll be hours for quiet ease
'Neath the blossoms of the trees,
With the flowers and birds and bees,
When daddy gets a raise.

Is it, therefore, any wonder
Prayers are daily offered yonder
For these blessings without number—
When daddy gets a raise?
And when mother, good and true,
Giveth thanks where they are due,
Won't she include the Union, too—
When daddy gets a raise?

—*Judge Albert C. Baker, in the Stockton Labor Review.*

The American Tobacco Comapny and its associate members of the trust are paying bigger dividends. How much, dear reader, did you contribute to this end? Are you afraid to say?

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

Rooms 50-51-52-53 Iroquois Life Building

THIRD AND MAIN STREETS, LOUISVILLE, KY.

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

If some of our critics were judged by their errors, as they are so prone to judge us, their measure of rating would not run as high as they are forced to give us.

Present conditions of living, and the necessity for the practice of economy should be a good boosting time for the organizing of co-operative societies, and for the education along taxation laws. All taxes should be placed against the land, and not fine a man for the improving of his landed property.

During the year the English people spent $5.25 per head for tobacco supplies.

The Attorney General of the State of Kansas says it is a violation of the anti-cigarette law to sell a newspaper or a mazagine that carries an advertisement of any cigarettes. This applies on all trains passing through the State and at all news stands.

The irrepressible Teddy pulled off a stunt in New York recently that, we think, he would give more than a penny to have expunged from the minds of his hearers, and from the columns of the press. He did no harm to the one he outraged, and we feel that President Gompers does not feel any smaller because of the assault; on the contrary, the manner in which he received the abuse and replied to it, raised him many notches higher in the estimation of those who saw and read of the incident.

We cannot afford to let our efforts flag and be slackers on the job of organization at any time, but now, especially, with the cost of living soaring and the "$" or its purchasing power decreasing in value more and more as the war progresses. Our wages can only be kept in measure with the advancing costs through organization, more organization, and still more organization. Our employers are boosting the products of labor, which they control, and they do it through organization, which they are maintaining, as they know that their safety lies in organization. What is good for them in that direction must also be good for us. Labor would be in a stronger position if it gave more thought efficiency in its own protection.

The trade union movement is a business institution; its business is to secure for the membership the right to live and the pursuit of happiness. It does not look for sympathy, charity or anything of the kind; it expects to pay its way,

...mpers. ...bread Trust and all non-union brnds.

as other business institutions do. It asks no favors that may not in all fairness be given by one human unit to another without entailing any obligations. No special privileges are wanted and no immunities where laws are concerned. If given the rights that are guaranteed in the business world, the unions will give as little trouble as any good law-abiding citizen. It is not unreasonable in its demands; on the contrary, it furnishes examples along humanitarian lines that many of our philanthropists could follow. It seeks no press notices, proclaiming from the house tops any of its charitable works for its indigent members. In short, the trade union is an ideal institution with its influence working silently day and night for the good of the human family. It is human, of course, and makes its mistakes, like any other human institution, and it pays its penalties for the mistakes it makes with just as many regrets and as manfully as any other organization. But it lives to do good, and it does it.

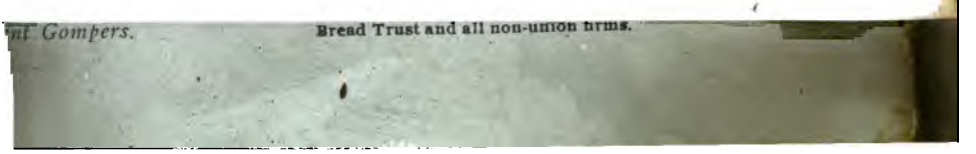
July 16th was the day set by the United States District Court to sell the 141 homes of the members of the Hatters involved in the famous Hatters' case, which was 12 years on trial in the courts. The appraisers have been appointed and the Sheriff expects to be through the job in about three weeks, selling them at a rate of six or seven per day. With this finished there closes one of the last chapters of this famous case. The sympathy of the looker-on is with the poor victims, and the odium is on the Lowe Hat Co., and when the sales are closed and the deeds filed for record, there will occur a renewed expression of the odium attachable to one who has been the cause of all these years of suffering who lost all their life's savings and were innocent of any wrong doing.

From the press reports we see many instances of profiteering which are a disgrace to the business world. The poor public who have been giving these disgraceful beings their sympathy during labor controversies, may now see what kind of people labor has had to deal with. If they manifest such a conscienceless spirit when the whole country is in a great trial, some idea can be formed of what they will do when in a controversy with labor. It is to be hoped that some of the innocent sympathizers will have their wisdom teeth cut, and give labor a few marks of merit that have been well earned but are so stingily given by those who are prone to give capital the right to reap where they have not sown. Labor will come into its own in time, but, like the army private, who is the subject of unjust abuse at the hands of an officer with a grouch, must wait, biding his time, knowing that his wrongs will be righted. Labor has been patient, but it has been working on with the goal of right as its object of attainment.

The National Association of Manufacturers in their convention held recently in New York City seem to have had only a mild time of it in their ever and unceasing fight on the trade unions. Perhaps it is because they feel that with conditions as they are today, with the unions in a fairly good saddle and fairly mounted and equipped, that the old methods of wholesale annihilation of the unions are obsolete, and it has been found that the unions instead of going out of business were growing stronger and more militant as the fight to deprive them of their rights progressed. It is fair to assume that this was the consensus of opinion though it is not so reported in the proceedings. Mr. Frederick J. Koster, of San Francisco, who has headed the fight on the unions in that city, made a report to the effect that they (the infamous law-and-order committee) had mixed it with the unions for some time, but he admits that they did not come off or out of the scuffle with any less scars than the unions did, and in fact one may infer

from his statement that the unions had the best of it, for he makes the admission that they were confronted with something that was worthy of any man's respect. There is one thing that they have found in the sword-measuring with union labor in that city and other cities, and that is that labor's emblem of freedom is now a factor to be reckoned with. Expression of surprise was given to the extent the union label had entered the mental process of the workers' gray matter; especially is this so of the members of the family who do the most of the purchasing for household consumption—and that is the "women." If the women get well drilled into the fight and make a concerted demand for the union label on their purchases, there is no help for the poor anti-union employer. In this case they have decided to add more guns to their batteries and train some of them on the Union Label Trades Department, which is the department of the much hated American Federation of Labor which champions the union label and has been doing some good work among the women's organizations throughout the country. Many fields have been entered this year by the women that have been undeveloped heretofore. We have no objection to their entering this fight with more guns; we hope they will, for it will stir up some latent forces that have not yet been stirred up on our side of the line. We have lots of reserve on hand and a stirring up will keep it from rusting out. So come along, Gentlemen, with your new high pressures, and we will meet you—not less than half way.

We hold ourselves to be a deomcracy; if we are, and intend to maintain it in fact, some of our (at times heralded) prominent citizens must mend their ways, as well as some of the resisting wage slaves. The condition of things that occurred recently out in Arizona cannot be looked upon as emanating from a spirit of democracy. We hold no brief for the defense of the I. W. W.'s in things they may do wrong, but the action of the Copper Mine Operators in herding over a thousand men into cattle cars and shipping them out onto the desert to shift for themselves, with nothing but sand to shift upon, gives one some idea of the caliber of men controlling the mines. In order to complete their work before the stronger civil authorities could be appraised of their intention, they took over, by force, control of the means of communication and prevented any news of the deportation reaching the outside world until their task had been completed. If that is not a duplication of the very methods they charge the I. W. W. with ("DIRECT ACTION"), we are at a loss to know what it is. These same men have been making a great noise about the preservation of democratic institutions in this country, telling other people what they should do, while they, who are reaping the profits from a greatly advanced price received for their products, refuse to give scant living conditions to the men who dig and delve in the mines to make it for them, forcing them to suspend work to secure their demands for a wage that will allow them to live under the present greatly increased cost of living. We have no defense for the I. W. W., if they committed transgression of the laws—the law is there to take care of its violations—but there runs through this thing a spirit of fairplay that the operators do not seem to be bound to observe. These mine operators are responsible for the conditions that exist. In the first place, they imposed such beastly conditions that decent American workers would not submit to, and left for other parts; at least those of them who could. The operators, finding that they could not get Americans to submit meekly and work under the conditions imposed, they scoured Europe and brought over what they could get, put them into the mines and imposed even worse conditions on them,



think they could, and squeezed these people into revolt. And the workers used the only means of defense they knew of. Whether it was legal or not, they knew not, and were in such a state of mind at the time, they cared not. If they could not get by in one place, they went to another, and another, until they became, in a sense, outcasts—victims of conditions they found in this country of ours. Before they came here they, or most of them, had, had held up to them a Utopia of liberty and freedom, and coming here, they found that conditions were not of the kind that had been represented to them, and a spirit of resentfulness took possession of them, and they became an easy prey of ill-advised leadership. In the last analysis the crucible shows that the residue at its bottom spells "greed" of predatory interest. We have had these occurrences in all parts of this country where mining work is done, the cause and the effect varying only very slightly in the different cases.

The rapacious greed of big business is the primary cause of it all, but they most indignantly repudiate all responsibility for it. If the democracy we are now fighting for establishment in Europe is to be maintained here, we would better clean our own house, or we will be told that it needs it; and we find that the charge is not fiction. With all our boasting, written or oral, as to things democratic, it will not be pleasant to be told, and with some units of truth, too, that our own house is not as clean as it ought to be, from the noise we are making about others.

The vote of local unions on the proposed amendment to Section 40 of the Constitution was counted by the International Executive Board at their recent meeting. While showing a majority of 154 against, the proposition was considered to be not the usually representative vote, and on that ground, partly, it was decided to resubmit the amendment for another vote. It is the hope that with this vote, and the arguments presented with it, that a more representative vote will be given on the rehearing of the proposition. It is hoped that every member will do his duty in this case. It is every member's interest, and his best interests that are being considered when the International Executive Board resubmitted the matter.

The following is the amendment as submitted in regular form:

Strike out, on line three of Section 40, the word "Ten" and insert the word "Fifteen."

Section to read as follows:

"Every member shall pay into the funds of the union to which he or she belongs, the sum of fifteen (15) cents per week."

The voting form has been enclosed upon which the secretary will return the vote of the local union on or before the first day of September, 1917.

The "anti-idleness" law that was passed at the last meeting of the legislature of the State of West Virginia seemingly was passed with a view of suppressing strikes against tyranny, of which we have been hearing so much during the last few years. The law states that all persons between the ages of 16 and 60 must do some kind of work for at lseat 36 hours during the week. Printed on the veil that covered the real purpose of the law, were the words "Aid the war by putting the vagrants to work." Now that the law has been passed, and the veil thrown aside, we find the real purpose of it. The employing class tried to lobby through an "anti-strike" law, but were defeated and in a fit of displeasure they conceived this piece of ill-advised legislation and passed it, and are invoking it to make slaves out of the miners and others, while the operators are loud in their proclamations that this war must be won for "democracy." Just recently a case came up under this law, wherein

some miners struck against the tyranny of the mine operator. Shortly after the men quit, the company had the men arrested for vagrancy. When the case came to trial, it was proven that at least one of the men had gone to work for another employer, but had been arrested on the charge of vagrancy just the same. If this is "DEMOCRACY," is autocracy any worse? The law will be short-lived, no doubt, but it shows to what lengths some of our democracy-shouters will go to carry out their dirty ends to enslave the workers.

As we go to press word comes that the jury in the Mrs. Rena Mooney trial had brought in a verdict of not guilty. Much interest has been taken in this case because of the circumstances surrounding it. To many it looked like a frame-up with the backing of the notorious "Law and Order" outfit that had determined that, right or wrong, organized labor had to be driven out of the town of San Francisco. This is another setback that the outfit will get. They have found in other cases that the right will prevail against all their boasted strength and influence. Organized labor is a rightful condition, and is so recognized by the courts, and all decent, sane minds. But some there are who conceive evilly, and for perhaps the best reasons are allowed for a time to pursue their reign of terror, but they very often find the hangman's rope, or some equally fitting consequence at the end of the lane they have been at much pains to travel. In this case some idea of the heat and intent may be guessed from the following sentence quoted from a statement made by Assistant District Attorney Ferrari:

"Even if we are not able to prove beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt that this particular group of people are responsible for this particular crime, if we can prove that the motive which actuated the bomb outrage is identical with or similar to that which lay behind the former acts of these people, we will still feel justified in asking the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty as charged."

ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND WORLD DEMOCRACY.

Taxation Is the Agency Through Which Permanent Liberty Can Come, Says Dr. Howe.

"Economic freedom must accompany political freedom. Otherwise there is no freedom. And freedom of access to God's earth is the first claim of democracy." These sentences give the keynote of an address by Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, to a conference on the high cost of living held in New York City, July 3.

"All over the world peoples and rulers are talking of liberty," Dr. Howe said. "Emperors, kings, tories and aristocrats are justifying war in new terms—terms of liberty. Never before in the history of the world was this true. Liberty has forced itself into the mouths of men who heretofore used it only for their own aggrandizement. Now they are compelled to widen its meaning to include all people, workers, peasants, serfs.

"But there can be no liberty under economic feudalism, whether it be the feudalism of the eighteenth century or the feudalism of the twentieth. Feudalism has changed its form; it has not changed its essence. And the tenant in the country and the worker in the city pay feudal tribute today, just as they did three hundred years ago. Then they gave personal labor, now they give cash. The earth and all its fullness is owned. And the laws of God are set at defiance when millions are born into the world under economic subjection to those who own the resources of the earth.

"Economic freedom must accompany political freedom. Otherwise there is no freedom. And freedom of access to God's earth is the first claim of democ-

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racy. Mexico discovered it. The peasants of Russia found it out. And these peoples are giving the earth to those who use under titles similar to those of the Jews 3,000 years ago. For the laws of Moses were the laws of equal opportunity to the earth, just as were the laws of all early peoples.

"And taxation is the agency through which permanent liberty can come. For through taxation those who hold the earth but refuse to use it must pay for their privileges or give them up to others. Taxation of land values will release lands and mines. It will enlarge production. It will destroy monopoly. It will free the tenement worker and the miner, and permit them to labor for themselves. Taxation has been used for privilege, for protectorate tariffs and in many other ways. The new democracy which is coming has in its hands a liberty tax, the taxation of land values. It will open a new life to even the poorest and will, when applied, insure equal opportunity for all. And democracy the world over has been inspired for generations by that phrase of Jefferson, 'Equal opportunity for all, and special privilege for none,' just as it has by the French Revolution with its 'Liberty, equality, fraternity.' Taxation of land values was the rallying cry of the philosophers who preceded the French Revolution. It should be the rallying cry of democracy in the new world."

The South has been notoriously noted for its small wage policy and now with the Government paying real living wages for work that it is having done for the army cantonments, and the general exodus of labor from the South to more normal fields, the southern employer would do well to look to his laurels, or the first thing he knows he will wake up and find all his labor gone and much to be done.

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

HEADQUARTERS

Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 16, 1917.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—The International Executive Board has levied a 25c International assessment to take effect July 21, 1917, and collectible on or before August 25, 1917.

The two-thirds (⅔) of this assessment going to the General Fund is to be forwarded to the International Office along with the other collection. The one-third (⅓) goes to the fund of the Local Unions.

Secretaries of Local Unions will collect the assessment at once.

The one-third of this assessment, which the Local Union receives, should be used for the agitation of our Label and for organization purposes.

By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW,
International President.

HEADQUARTERS

Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., July 16, 1917.

To Members at Large of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

GREETING—The International Executive Board has levied a 25c International assessment to take effect July 21, 1917, and payable on or before August 25, 1917.

This assessment is to be placed in the General Fund to be used for Label Agitation and organization purposes.

Members at Large will forward same to the International Office as soon after this notice is received as possible, and not later than the above mentioned date, August 25, 1917.

By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW,
International President.

INHERITANCE BILL SIGNED.

HARRISBURG, PA., July 21.—Governor Brumbaugh has signed the Woodward

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union grain.

bill, which places a 2 per cent tax upon direct inheritances, regardless of the size of the estate. In some states there is a graded tax with exemptions to the small estates, but the Pennsylvania state constitution prohibits this exemption, which Governor Brumbaugh insists should be made by the next legislature and approved by the people in 1919.

Powerful interests defeated bills that would tax capital stock and corporations that are exploiting natural resources. In signing the Woodward bill, Governor Brumbaugh said:

"The same influences that clamored for large appropriations steadily opposed these taxes upon natural resources and upon the capital stock of manufacturing corporations. The Senate committees thus chose deliberately to tax the estates of poor and rich alike rather than to tax these natural resources which today are selling at such an advanced price as to make the owners abnormally rich in dividends and in profits, and rather than to tax manufacturing corporations now extraordinarily prosperous and abundantly able to pay the proposed tax. The whole procedure was most unfair and against the welfare of all the people."

PAPER MILL SHUTS DOWN.

HAMILTON, OHIO, July 21.—The Champion Coated Paper Company has failed to induce its striking paper makers to return to work under old conditions and President Thompson has announced that the mill is closed down. The strikers are demanding wage increases and abolition of the bonus system.

This company recently became involved in a controversy with the joint printing committee of Congress, at Washington, because of excessive costs which the company insisted for its product. Senator Fletcher, chairman of the committee, made public the correspondence with this concern in which the committee says:

"The committee gave consideration to a report from the federal trade commission that the cost of producing such paper as was bid upon by the Champion Company, had increased less than 1 cent a pound, while the price was jumped by your company more than 4 cents a pound, or 100 per cent. over the preceding year.

"The committee is surprised that a company which some time ago offered to place its entire product at the disposal of the government, in the event of war, should seek to force the government to pay excessive prices for its product, now the war actually exists."

Donald McAllister, a Scotch farmer, was going to town for a day or two, and his daughter, Maggie, had a weary time listening to the hundred and one instructions he gave her as to care and economy.

"Mind the coal." "Don't waste any food." Don't sit up burning light," etc.

Finally he set off, but in a moment he was back with a parting admonition:

"An', Maggie, there's young Angus. See that he doesna wear his spectacles when he's no readin' or writin'! It's a needless wear and tear!"

A certain English foreman in one of the Kensington textile factories is in the habit of having an apprentice heat his luncheon for him. The other day he called a new apprentice.

"Go downstairs and 'eat up my lunch for me," ordered the foreman.

The boy—a typical young American, with no knowledge of cockney English—obeyed with alacrity He was hungry.

Ten minutes later the foreman came down. He also was hungry.

"Where's my lunch?" he demanded.

The boy gazed at him in amazement.

"You told me to eat it up—and I ate it," he stated.

"I didn't tell you to heat it up!" roared the irate foreman. "I told you to' eat it up."

"Well, I didn't heat it up," maintained the youngster, stoutly. I ate it cold."—*Youth's Comapnion.*

A negro servant, wishing to get married, asked his master to buy him a license in the neighboring town. The master, being in haste, did not ask the name of the happy woman, but as he drove along he reflected on the many tender attentions he had seen John lavish upon Euphemia Wilson, the cook, and, concluding that there could be no mistake, had the license made out in her name.

"There's your license to marry Euphemia," he said to the servant that night. "You're as good as married already, and you owe me only $2."

The darky's face fell.

"But Mass' Tom, Euphemia Wilson ain't de lady I'se gwine to marry. Dat wa'n't nothin' mo'n a little flirtation. Georgiana Thompson, the la'ndress, is the one I'se gwine to marry."

"Oh, well, John," said the master, amused and irritated at the same time, "there's no great harm done. I'll get you another license tomorrow, but it will cost you $2 more, of course."

The next morning the darky came out to the carriage as it was starting for town and, leaning confidently over the wheel, said:

"Mass' Tom, you needn't git me no udder license; I'll use the one I'se got. I'se been t'inkin' it over in de night, an' to tell you de troof, Mass' Tom, de conclusion o' my judgment is dat dar ain't $2 worth o' difference between dem two ladies."—*Tit-Bits.*

UNIONIZE; RAISE WAGES.

PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, July 21.—About 175 sheet mill workers employed at the plant of the Whitaker-Glessner Company have organized. This mill has been shut down since April, when the company discharged 11 workers because they applied for a charter from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. These men have been reinstated, the union recognized and wages increased 12½ per cent.

CO-OPS. TO MEET.

STAUNTON, ILL., July 21.—The third annual convention of the Central States Co-operative Society will be held in this city beginning Monday, September 10. Bona fide retail consumers co-operative societies everywhere are urged to send delegates, as are labor and agricultural organizations interested in this subject.

"One of the big purposes of this convention," says John H. Walker, president of the society, "will be to agree on a basis for the establishment of a co-operative wholesale department, so that we may reduce the cost of living additionally for the members of the societies already established and that new societies may have the benefit of an immediate and continual source of supplies in the things that they use in their business; one that is friendly to their existence and that will not only supply their material needs, but will help them in every other manner possible."

Teacher—"I'm surprised at you, Sammy Wicks, that you cannot tell me when Christopher Columbus discovered America! What does the chapter heading of the week's lesson read?"

Sammy—"Columbus—1492."

Teacher—"Well, isn't that plain enough? Did you never see it before?"

Sammy—"Yes'm, yes'm; but I always thought it was his telephone number."—*Harper's Magazine.*

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS

LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Gompers.

Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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The TOBACCO WORKER

Official Magazine

of the

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

PROTECTS CHILDREN.

New York's New Labor Law Provides For Better Education.

The Wellington law, the New York State child labor statute, which went into effect Feb. 1, provides that children must remain in school until they are fifteen before they can receive permits to work. Only those children can go to work before they are fifteen who are graduates of elementary schools. It is believed that the number of children leaving school will be materially decreased under the new law.

The Wellington law imposes upon the State Industrial Commission the duty of supervising the issuing of work permits to children by the health officers.

George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, said "The members of the committee are much gratified at the advance in the standards of child protection which are accomplished through the Wellington law. It should be clearly understood that the law does not affect the 50,000 children of the State who have been legally certified to go to work during the last year. Not a single child will be taken out of a factory or store as a result of the new law. It affects only the children who will seek work permits from now on."

IN AID OF LABOR.

Bills Before Various State Legislatures Affecting Workingmen.

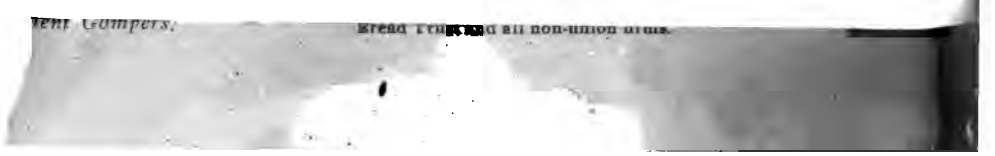
Of bills affecting labor those concerning workmen's compensation are in the majority. States in which compensation laws may be passed for the first time are Delaware, Missouri, North Carolina, North and South Dakota and Utah. Bills to amend existing laws range from those in New York to extend the law to all employes and to increase weekly payments to 100 per cent of wages, to the Indiana bill to exempt train employes and the one in Minnesota to repeal the law altogether. In California, Indiana and Minnesota it is proposed to reduce waiting time to one week; in another bill in Minnesota and in Massachusetts and New York, to abolish it altogether. Amendments offered in Illinois and Massachusetts would permit the commutation of weekly payments in a lump sum. Other bills propose to increase the proportion of wages to be paid in compensation to 65 per cent. in Indiana, to 66⅔ per cent. in Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire and Oklahoma, and to 75 per cent. in Wisconsin. In Minnesota, New Jersey and Utah state funds are proposed. Ohio has passed a law prohibiting casualty insurance companies altogether from handling compensation business.

In Indiana there is a bill requiring the injured employe to accept the doctor furnished by the employer, while in Maine, Massachusetts and Minnesota there are bills to permit the employe to select his own physician. An Indiana bill would provide a judge in each congressional district to administer the law; another bill would require the consideration of bonuses in determining the wage which is to be the basis for compensation payments. A Massachusetts bill would permit a man hired within the state to recover for an injury even if it occurred outside the state. In Rhode Island there is a proposal to extend medical and hospital treatment for a period of four weeks. Washington would amend its law by providing for first aid.—*Survey.*

TO PERMIT STRIKES.

Senate Reaffirms Privileges Granted by the Clayton Act.

Through an amendment accepted by the United States Senate to the Newlands preferential shipping bill "peaceable striking" would be permitted in wartime among railroad men. The amendment, offered by Senator Hollis



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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 AUGUST, 1917 No. 8

The Tobacco Worker.

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The Tobacco Worker.

FOOD SAVING DOES NOT MEAN A LOWER LIVING STANDARD.

What the American people can do when they are aroused to co-operate is shown in the bountiful harvest of fruit and vegetables now being gathered. It is predicted that we will have the largest potato crop that we ever raised, and that the shortage of onions, cabbage and other fresh vegetables which caused such high prices last winter has been overcome.

This great harvest is the result of our energy in planting war gardens and also the increased acreage planted by farmers. The demand for war gardens did not start until the planting season was well under way in many states, but the American people were right on the job and answered the call for food, and now they are getting their results.

Steps are being taken to store these crops, and the prices of potatoes, apples, onions, cabbage and similar products will undoubtedly be normal this winter.

Now there is something further to ask of the American public—that we use these first fruits of our war planting program to help us save wheat, meat and fats for shipment to our allies.

Over in Europe there are millions of men fighting our battles and tens of millions of men and women back in the factores supplying the fighters with munitions and war supplies. The efficiency of all these fighters and workers can be measured and actually be put upon a pair of scales and weighed. If we send them only as much wheat as we could spare from this year's crop after using what we have been accustomed to there would not be enough to properly nourish our allies. If we can save and send them one-third of what we normally consume they will be properly nourished. Nothing could be plainer than that.

On the bread plate before you are three slices of bread. If you eat two and send one abroad somebody over there will have strength to fight your battles. If you eat three and send none the time may come when you or some other American must go abroad to fight.

Now in the great crop of perishable foods which we are harvesting there is abundant nourishment for every American worker. Our food saving program will not tolerate under-nourishment in any American family. We must be well fed ourselves, for we, too, are called upon to carry out great world tasks. Food economy with us is a matter of using our brains to get the same amount of nourishment by modifying our diet. Instead of eating meat and bread, which are extremely rich foods, in the large quantities that we have been accustomed to, we must now eat fruits and vegetables, which will give us equal nourishment at lower cost and improve our health.

The standard of living in America is

something that we should all jealously guard. It must not be lowered even in war times if we can help it. Our country is so rich and our national enterprise is so great that we can meet any food scarcity by increasing our efforts and stopping our wastes.

A standard of living does not necessarily turn on food alone. The trained American workman on good wages is proverbially lavish in his expenditures for his table. He wants his family to have an abundance of the best that is in the market, and he is absolutely right. But the most expensive foods do not always give the best nourishment, and the most nourishing foods can often be used in a combination with cheaper things, like fruit and vegetables, to improve one's health.

In the European countries the living conditions are harder. The people have long learned to nourish themselves on less chosen diets of comparatively cheap things. We might very well take a lesson from Europe to reduce the cost of our food without impairing our health, and put the money saved thereby into something that counts bigger in maintaining a high standard of living.

Suppose we saved our food and put the extra money into better schooling for our children, more play and recreation for our wives and ourselves; more comfortable living quarters, and for many other of the fundamentals of life. That would be a genuine uplift in our living standard, and one that commends itself to every sensible person.

The first time one hears about this proposition of saving food it may look as though one were asked to tighten his belt and get along with less to eat, but that is absolutely a mistaken way to look at it. What we are asked to do is to use our alert American brains to modify our diet and get more out of life, not less. Our bountiful soil has responded to this new demand in a few months and it will respond further as plans for increased production of wheat and the bigger food staples are worked out Already the American farmer is plowing for a crop of wheat next summer which will exceed anything we have ever raised. Until that crop is harvested we must use the abundance of quickly grown fruits and vegetables that have been produced to meet the emergency. So from now on until next summer our motto must be, "Save some of our wheat bread by eating potatoes; eat an apple and send a biscuit."

HOW ORGANIZED LABOR PREVENTS SICKNESS.

The 30,000,000 wage earners of the United States lose every year in the form of wages on account of sickness $500,000,000.

Doctors' fees, medicine and other material required during illness cost them $500,000,000 more, making a total of $1,000,000,000 lost annually by wage earners on account of sickness.

This is twice the amount given annually for philanthropic purposes in the United States.

Workingmen pay a terrible tribute toward our commercial and industrial prosperity. It is conservatively estimated that at least 30,000 workingmen are killed annually in industry, and 300,000 more are seriously injured, although there are said to be 2,000,000 industrial accidents of all kinds.

One of the finest things being done by organized labor is to wipe out the causes and conditions which lower vitality and shorten life.

It does this by securing the shorter work day and in its fight for one day's rest in seven, because fatigue is one of the principal causes of disease. When a man is completely exhausted physically he invites diseased germs which may finish him.

It does it through its fight for higher wages, because when a man is able to

eat nourishing food he chases away the devils of disease.

It does it through keeping little children out of mills and factories, because the stunted bodies of child workers cannot successfully resist disease.

It does it by helping to keep women out of shops and in their homes, particularly those who are bearing the burdens of motherhood and home-makers.

It does it by insisting upon clean work shops, because bad sanitary conditions in places where men are employed all day are sure to lower their power of resistance against disease.

These are just a few of the ways in which organized labor is helping to decrease sickness and death.

We have been told by scientists that human life may be extended fifteen years in a single generation. If through the efforts of organized labor human life in this country were extended only one year, it would result in saving the equivalent of over 2,000,000 lives of forty-five years' duration each in a single generation.

This means, in substance, that through the activities of organized labor enough lives would be saved during a single generation to produce the equivalent of the complete lives of the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor.

Isn't this a job worth while, and should it not receive the support of every right-thinking workingman, every employer of labor and everybody else who is interested in the well-being of mankind?

A logical inference, therefore, is that we should stand by organized labor in its commendable task.

The Minister—Mackintosh, why don't you come to church now?

Mackintosh—For three reasons, parson. Firstly, I dinna like yer theology; secondly, I dinna like yer singin', and thirdly, it was in your kirk I met ma wife.

LABOR!

By Albert N. Dennis.

Back in the ages that long have passed,
Back in the time when Time began;
I, with our God, made this world so grand,
I, with God, made His image—Man!
Now I am striving, improving all,
And to me only must credit lay;
For in all time have I done these things—
I made the world what it is today!

Yonder's a plow that tills the soil,
Here are the things I've made to grow;
Wisdom I give you and, in truth,
All of the things you are to know.
Yonder's a palace where servants stay;
Here is a house where servants stay;
All have like passions and desires—
I made the world what it is today!

I made the wireless, the submarine,
I made the ships, the cannon, shell;
I made the things men fight for so,
I make the battle roar like hell.
I made the Peace this world has known,
Ever the toys for children's play;
I have made joy and sadness, too—
I made the world what it is today!

I make the iron, the glass—all things—
I do the mining and sow the seed;
I make men rich who don't deserve,
While there are many in great need.
I am the Power that moves the world
Ever upon its endless way:
LABOR'S my name (and you're my slave)—
I made the world what it is today!

THE UNION MAN AND A MEMBER OF THE UNION.

The member of the union is the man that pays only when he is forced to. Usually comes to the meetings only when he has an ax to be ground. He is the man that will always say that the union has never given him anything, as

he would get good wages if there never was a union in existence. And he cannot see what the officers are doing with all the money.

The union man is a very different person. He attends his meetings regularly, takes part in the debate that is in the interest of the union, never permits himself to be suspended, always ready to extend a friendly hand or act to any brother that may be in distress. You can find him in a union shop because he is a union man at heart. And today the great labor movement is carried on by the union men and not by the so-called members of a union.

The union man criticises when criticism is justified and fights for what he thinks is right. The so-called member of a union kicks at all things, but never fights for anything.—*Elevator Constructor.*

MORNING ALWAYS COMES.

Morning always comes.

There has never been a night so long and dark and fearsome but at last it came to an end.

A smiling, laughing sun is forever creeping up to the ridge of some hill to bid the top of the morning to a weary-from-watching world.

The surest thing in the world is sunshine. It rolls away the darkness, dissipates the fog, and makes crystals of joy shine in the melting tears of night.

Morning always comes.

That is a good thought for any time, but it is a particularly consoling thought when your heart is heavy, and you imagine that you are carrying more than your share of the burdens of life. If we would only be as sure of the other things in life as we are of the return of the sunshine, it would make it much easier, especially for those whose faith in the goodness of things is not sufficiently strong to dare the joy of a fine young open-faced smile without feeling that they had done something wrong.

Morning always comes.

Don't be down-hearted. Set your alarm, and get up and greet it with a smile.—*Terre Haute Union.*

VEGETABLE SOAP.

Nature evidently intended man to be cleanly, thinks C. F. Saunders, writing in the *American Botanist,* for long before the invention of soap she had stocked the earth with plants capable of being used as soaps and quite as effective as the manufactured article. In the United States alone, according to Mr. Saunders, there are half a dozen genera of native plants which contain saponin in sufficient quantities to make them of value for cleaning purposes. He says:

"They are most numerous in the arid Southwest and on the Pacific coast, and are variously known as soap-week, soap-root, soap-plant and amole—the last being the name given by Spanish-Americans.

"Of these soap plants it is usually the root which is used, and all that is necessary to do is to dig this up, rinse it, crush it somewhat, and rub it briskly between the hands in water, when a lather is produced which quickly cleanses the skin, leaving it agreeably soft. In the case of several species of Ceanothus, which are particularly abundant in California, the flowers and the green seed-vessels may be used with like effect. These shrubs are known as wild lilacs, and during their season of bloom cover entire hillsides in places with a delicate of color. There is one species of Ceanothus indigenous to our Atlantic seaboard and known commonly as New Jersey tea. It possesses the same saponaceous property. Perhaps the most interesting of our soap-weeds is Chlorogalum pomeridianum, a bulbous lily-like plant of the Pacific coast, which presents its soapy offering in a particularly neat manner. The bulb is the part used, and this on being dug up is found wrapped in a loose jacket of coarse

fiber, which may be readily stripped off, taking all stains of earth with it and leaving a clean, moist ball of 'soap' for instant use."

HAND THAT RULES THE WORLD.

They say that man is mighty and governs land and sea,
He wields a mighty scepter o'er lesser pow'rs that be;
But a power mightier, stronger, man from his throne has hurled,
'This the hand that rocks the cradle that rules this mighty world.
In deep, mysterious conclave, 'mid philosophic minds,
Unraveling knotty problems, his native forte man finds;
Yet all his pow'r and glory to heav'n's four winds are hurled
By the unseen hand of woman, the pow'r of this great world.

CHORUS.

Yes, the tender, loving mother, who nurses, nurtures, tends,
Into our life's great battles many noble soldiers sends,
And, altho' she's in the background when the banners are unfurled,
The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world.

Behold the brave commander, on land or on the sea,
Stanch 'mid the carnage standing, no fear of death has he!
The standard bearer, dying, with the colors in his hand ,
Brave men, they be, yet all are ruled by woman's gentle hand.
Great statesmen govern nations, kings rule a people's fate,
But the unseen hand of velvet these giants regulate;
The iron arm of fortune with woman's arm entwined,
For great men rule the nations, and woman rules the mind.

—Charles W. Berkley.

LIVE THE CHEERFUL LIFE.

Look on the Bright Side and Enjoy What You Have.

When we are in trouble we are prone to cry out about it, complaining that we are unjustly used, that no one else has suffered as we do. When things go well with us we take it as a matter of course that so it ought to be. We are not largely given to gratitude.

We may have food enough, a comfortabel shelter, be clothed comfortably; we may have health and employment in such labor as we are able and like to perform; we may have a competence which puts us above anxiety—and still we find fault and complain.

Some one may have a better dress, or a handsomer car, or may entertain more elaborately, or is greater in popular favor than ourselves. There is something that does not please us. Instead of being glad that there are so many things to make us happy we complain and find fault. We let a "crumpled roseleaf" spoil our joy amidst a wealth of things that should make us glad.

Why not set the mind on the good things of life? Ignore the things that are petty and of really small consequence. Cultivate a cheerful habit of mind, looking for all that is good and appreciating the blessings that have fallen to our share.

For every one there is something to enjoy. The sun at least shines for all. When you are heavy hearted count up the good things of life that are yours to enjoy.—*Chicago Post.*

CO-OPS PAY DIVIDEND.

VIRDEN, ILL., Aug. 14.—The Co-operative Society at this place paid a dividend of 10 per cent to its membership on the basis of purchases during the last quarter. Total sales to members during this period aggregated $7,692.71 and to non-members $1,511.74. Total resources are $7,736.68.

THE UNION MAN.

The union member who performs his whole duty to his union will be too busy to spend much time in criticising others.

The good union man will not furnish employment to non-unionists or business to unfair employes, but will demand union label articles in return for his wages as they are spent to provide for the needs of himself and family.

The true union man will try to persist in the attempt to induce all non-members to become unionists, both in his own trade and others, being content with nothing less than that his influence for the upbuilding of unionism shall radiate from himself to every person within his reach.

LABOR'S FAIR SHARE.

The "dignity of labor" sounds well from the rostrum, but the men and women who do the world's work and produce the world's wealth are rapidly learning that their dignity as well as their happiness depends upon their assistance on a more equitable distribution of the products of their toil. They have learned that the only way to secure anything like a fair division is by organized effort through banding together in unions for the raising of wages and the shortening of the hours of toil. Through such organized effort they have raised the standard of living for every worker.

LABOR STEADFAST.

We have seen the longshoremen withstand the temptations of German agents; we have now the official record of the non-success of the propaganda carried on under cover of labor's peace council. There have been other assaults, some brazen, some insidious on the probity of labor. Their failure has been practically complete, despite the skill with which they were conducted and the bank account that sustained them. American labor under the successive attacks it has been subjected to since the war began has maintained the same standards of sincerity and honor of which it gave countless proofs before Germany discovered the depths of infamy to which a government can sink.—*New York Sun.*

WHAT IS HAPPINESS?

The aim of human life, no doubt, is happiness. But, after all, what is happiness? Efficiency, wealth, material comfort? Many by their lives do so affirm; few are cynical enough to say so, and on their death beds none will feel so. Not even freedom lies in breadth of heart. And breadth of heart is that inward freedom which has the power to understand, feel with, and if need be, help others. In breadth of heart are founded justice, love, sacrifice; without it there would be no special meaning to any of our efforts, and the tale of all human life would be still no more than that of supremely gifted animals.—John Galsworthy.

ORGANIZING MEAT PLANTS.

CHICAGO, Aug. 14.—Representatives of trade unions having jurisdiction over crafts employed in the Chicago stock yards and packing plants have perfected an organization to unionize the 40,000 men, women and children employed in these institutions. While the meat barons have blocked several previous attempts to unionize the Chicago Federation of Labor is more enthusiastic in this work than ever before. It is stated that large numbers of negro laborers are being held by the packers under what is known as "the report system," which makes it possible to maintain a large force of extra laborers who expect, from day to day, to be put to work. Recently the packers received much publicity because of stockades they erected

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

around their plants, but unionists say the packers are more interested in keeping organized labor representatives away from these concerns than they are in protecting their product from enemies of the government.

BRAIN WORK.

The manipulations of the memory market by the great financiers for their own benefit are a sealed book to the general public. The common people are groping in the dark, and appear to be bewildered by the huge sums of money that are loaned to the government in one form or another. Neither have they the slightest conception of the enormous unearned profits which accrue to the bankers in the transactions. Here is an illustration: The secretary of the treasury issues treasury certificates bearing three and one-half per cent interest, which he sells to the bankers at par. By a simple transfer on the ledger the amounts are credited to the government, to be drawn gradually whenever needed. The bankers in turn pay to the government two per cent on the deposits; thus gaining by an entry on the ledger one and one-half per cent. Millions of dollars are thus earned by the bankers without any effort whatsoever, and without the risk of a single penny. The apologists in the commercial press call it brain work, which they say deserves the highest remuneration. The general public will have to pay the money by taxation, directly and indirectly, on all necessaries of life.—*Cigarmakers' Journal.*

COMPULSORY LABOR IN MARYLAND.

ANNAPOLIS, MD., Aug. 14.—Governor Harrington has signed the compulsory work act, passed at the recent session of the Maryland Legislature.

This law is declared "to be an emergency law and necessary for the improvement and preservation of the public safety." It provides for the registration of all male persons in the state between the ages of 18 and 50 years who are not regularly employed. The governor can then assign these workers, regardless of their wishes, to state, county or municipal work, or to occupations carried on by private persons, firms or corporations, whether agricultural, industrial or otherwise.

Police officials are charged to "continue to seek diligently" the names and residences of all able-bodied male persons who have not registered and who have no continuous employment. These shall be arrested, fined not more than $50 and assigned to work by the governor.

Any person who disagrees with this Prussian idea and refuses to work under conditions arbitrarily imposed by the governor or his subordinates is liable to a $500 fine and six months' imprisonment, or both.

If an employer wishes to take advantage of this forced labor legislation he must execute a bond with the state as a guarantee that he will pay wages regularly. Wage rates shall not be less than those "paid to others engaged in the same nature of work to which each such person is assigned." This makes the state sole judge of whether union rates or the varying non-union rates in communities shall be the standard.

The provisions of the act do not apply "to persons temporarily unemployed by reason of differences with their employers." This means that strikers are not placed in the unemployed list, but the governor is not prohibited from ordering other unemployed, under failure of fine and imprisonment, to take the places of strikers "for the protection and welfare of the state."

The law does not apply to any seasonal trade or occupation carried on in the city of Baltimore or Alleghany county. These two localities are the best organized in the state.

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

Those not loyal to their own interests do not deserve to have any.

A call for the union label is one way of helping yourself as well as the other fellow.

Don't forget that organization increase wages and shortens the working day, making work steadier.

The interest returned on your purchase of Union Labeled products is all your own. Do you see the point?

Give yourself and your fellow worker a square deal by spending your Union-earned money for products bearing Union's trade marke of freedom—the Union Label.

Anyhow every working man and woman can be thankful that there is a labor movement, which exists for the sole purpose of bettering his or her condition of life.

Nothing succeeds like success. The success of our efforts depends upon our loyalty to ourselves. To consistently patronize Union Labeled products is an act of loyalty.

Your demand for the Union Label on products you buy is in constant demand.

Your own welfare calls upon you to serve it well by buying products bearing the Union Label.

A sentinel that always stands on duty in the labor movement is the union label, and to win victories it is but necessary to take advantage of its watchfulness. Demand the union label on your purchases and in a short time your troubles will be few. It is up to you.

The union label on the article you purchase indicates it is the product of union labor. If you believe in union labor, why not demand its presence on everything you purchase? This is the easiest, as well as the surest, way to advance organization of the workers. Do your share by demanding it.

We have reached a stage in our development where even the most bitter enemies of organized labor do not dare to come out openly against it. They cater to public sentiment by saying orgainzation is all right, but the unions are not properly conducted. If they were conducted in a manner satisfactory to

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union arms.

such persons they would be of no value to the workers. It is, therefore, unlikely the unions will change their course to suit them.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in a report states that an average advance of 56 per cent in foodstuffs has occurred since the war began. The report further states that potatoes has increased 285 per cent, flour 164, sugar 87 and corn meal 82 per cent. When the figures were taken for these four staples alone we find that the increase is nearly 180 per cent. The workers are asked for the sake of Democracy to make sacrifices. They are making no small sacrifice when the difference between the increased cost of living and the increase in wages is put down in glaring figures. The workers are ready to make greater sacrifices when called upon, but if the H. C. of L. keeps bounding they won't have even a widow's mite left to give to the good cause.

If the people under a government repose in that government the right to conscript the living bodies of the people for war fighting purposes, who can say that that same government cannot conscript the wealth accumulated by individuals by the taxation route. The worker gives his "all" when he goes to war and does not come back, or even comes back, the wealthy have stripped the worker as far as it was possible before the war and laid it up for future use, and if he is conscripted and returns safely he has plenty to go on; if the worker comes back he has little or nothing, and perhaps is partly disqualified; things have changed, his old job is gone, and in his disqualified state he must find a new job, adapting himself to a new estate, or become a derelict in the economic field. The wealth that robbed him before the war has no use for him in his after the war state. Who is to help him? Nobody but his own kind. The government that he wrecked his life for cannot support him since he gave his all with the exception of his life for the protection of the institutions under his government, including the wealth accumulated. Why, then, should wealth so strenuously object to a taxation to set his soldier brother and companion protector up in a new start in life and lend to his future prosperity? Some of our wealthy men are interposing serious objection to minor tax on their accumulations that has as yet been assessed against them. These are the men which own the large interests, the daily papers and magazines through whose columns the sweet strains of patriotism are sung out loudly to the workers, but when the government has taken the worker, which he thinks as it should be, Mr. Wealthy Man sets up a howl when the government calls upon him to pay his share. This is not a new side light on Mr. Wealthy Man, but I am of the belief that our Uncle Sam will teach him a few lessons in patriotism before he gets through with this war.

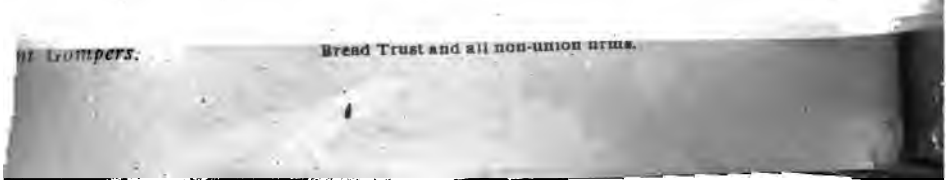
There are those among us who are so small mentally that they think that for a worker in the shop, or elsewhere for that matter, to aspire to anything above being a labor machine is the heighth of presumption, and for a Labor man to aspire to representativeship in any of our halls of legislation is a sacrilege, as such offices should be held for men with a college education and the trimmings that go with it. This same opinion was held in England some years ago, and when the first Labor members of Parliament was to speak on an important subject the galleries were filled with the highbrows with glasses to help them see the poor wretch who was going to murder the King's English and spoil the record of time-honored fame. But when Labor's representatives rose and began in good English, with good,

logical reasoning from cause to effect, some very amusing remarks were made by some of those who were viewing him through their glasses, such as "that fellow talks well," "that fellow understands his subject," "say, do you know I came here quite prejudiced against these labor fellows, but if they are all like this fellow I must reform my opinion." These and other remarks were made during Labor's first defending voice on the floor of the English Parliament. We had not a little of the same kind of sentiment when Labor sent its representatives to our halls of legislation, but our representatives made good, and we think we are entitled to a wider field of representation, especially since this war began. Since the majority of the men who will do the fighting came from our ranks we feel that Labor should be represented on all the commissions that have to do with the prosecution of this war, whether councils are State or National, and have a voice on all things that will so vitally affect Labor's interest. Labor is a more indispensible factor than anything else in this terrible business; a Council, Committee or Commission is not completely Democratized unless it has some of Labor's representatives on it. Since Labor is an indispensible element in the productive and distributing agencies of government, there is no reason why it should not have a voice in the Councils, and there is every reason to suppose that the personnel of these subsidiary bodies will be bettered by the help that Labor can bring to them, as these Councils have to deal with matters and policies of production and distribution that Labor is already quite familiar with. Democracy, the maintenance and extension of it, is what we entered this European struggle for, and that spirit should be the presiding element of all our Councils, Committees and Commissions.

Some time ago the rabid anti-unionist employers organized an institution, the title of which is "The American Employers' Association, Incorporated," the preamble of which of course, was intended only for the eyes of the bosses, but like bad deeds coming out this thing saw the light of day. The prime object of this institution is to fight Organized Labor or anything else, for that matter, that has temerity to assert any rights which may have or offer any interference with Mr. Employer's prescribed program of self-appointed right of way over anything that will militate to his individual success. This applies, of course, to the rabid antis, and we are indeed pleased to say that they are a minority in number when the whole is compared.

The first line in the offensive program is to oppose all organized effort on the part of Labor, one part of this offensive is to get their representatives firmly installed in the various Trade Unions and as often as possible, without exciting comment, to get into office, that of Secretary or Treasurer, and report regularly from the innermost recesses of the Union all intentions where opposition may develop, and when no trouble is on tap to see that something is started so that the mental attitude of the membership may be sounded. These spies must never be quiet, they must have a brew brewing at all times. The next line of offensive is that of having state and large center organizers with a goodly supply of sub-organizers whose sole business is to humstring, halt and oppose all efforts of Labor to organize or in any way protect itself against predatory wealth.

This institution has a legal department which shall furnish services wherever wanted by any member of the corporation, and under cover investigate any strikes or other efforts of Labor for itself advancement, and work up cases against Organized Labor where it



may be thought an infraction of some kind may have occurred. The Local Office of each branch of this estimable institution is to have a card index record of all employes of each employer affiliated with the local branch, these in turn are copied and sent to the headquarters of every other branch for reference should an employe leave one place and go to another he will find his record ahead of him and no job is the word when he applies.

This institution will take up the fight for the unorganized as against the organized movement wherever the opportunity presents itself, and foster discrimination against the organized and sow dissension whenever possible, and to further persecution and prosecution by fines or other monetary loss; persecution within the organized movement and securing of heavy fines of some one who is too strong for open attack; in fact, anything that will cause a disintegration or destruction of a Union is assigend as a purpose to an end—destruction.

What a beautiful program for a business man to subscribe to—the one who does it must surely have a soul and a heart as big as a boiled fish egg and about as fertile and ambitious.

When a Labor convention comes along manufacturers or employers are told that for a consideration they will be sent daily the secret proceedings of a most dangerous Union. The employer falls for this bunch, when he might—were his ignorance not so dense—find that the copies he receives are secured without cost from the floor of the convention and he is being grafted to the tune of so much.

Organized Labor is not a secret institution; it does its work in the open, with the light of day shining all over it, and no magnifying glasses are needed to read its acts.

Despite all this watchful waiting, spying and persecution, the Trade Unions are growing simply because they are open in their work and their cause is a righteous one.

"I DON'T KNOW."

Not very long ago a writer in *The Railroad Trainman* drew attention, in a very brief but effective way, to an idiosyncrasy that is found not infrequently among a certain class of union men. This sickly state of mind may usually be detected when you get the same monotonous answer to the following questions:

Listen! When does your local meet? I don't know.

Who are your officers? I don't know.

How many members in your local? I don't know.

Any applications before the local now? I don't know.

Is your local in good financial standing? I don't know.

How much are your dues to the local? I don't know.

Are your dues paid up to date? I don't know.

Are your dues payable in advance? I don't know.

What induced you to become a union man? I don't know.

Of what good are you to a local? Nobody knows.

If you have lapsed into this helpless condition, don't you think it's time to wake up?

LABOR'S WEAPON.

Much of the success of the union movement in this and future years will depend upon the use the labor men make of their purchasing power. To employ union labor by purchasing union label goods is the most effective weapon of organized labor. It can change the commerce and manufactures of the land. Start right in this respect and keep up the goodwork and the future is ours.

THE CLIQUE.

What is the Clique? It's a body of men
Who attend every meeting, not just now and then;
Who don't miss a meeting unless they are sick,
These are men that the grouch calls the Clique.
Who don't make a farce of that sacred word Brother,
Who believe in the motto: "Help one another."
Who never resort to a dishonest trick,
These are the men that some call the Clique.
The men who are seldom back in their dues,
And who from the meetings do not carry news;
Who attend to their duties and visit the sick,
These are the men the crank calls the Clique.
Who all should be proud of members like these,
They call them the Clique or whatever they please;
They never attempt any duties to dodge.
These are the Clique that run most every lodge.
But there are some people who always find fault,
And most of this kind are not worth their salt;
They like to start trouble, but seldom will stick,
They like to put all of the work on the Clique.

—Exchange.

MAY SHUN NON-UNIONISTS.

HARTFORD, CONN., Aug. 14.—The State Supreme Court has upheld the Superior Court of Hartford County which ruled that organized building craftsmen of this city have the right to refuse to work with employes of the non-union Cohn & Roth Electric Company.

Every Citizen's Alliance element in the state supported the company, though this was in direct violation of their sacred dictum that workers have the right to work where they please and for whom they please.

The unionists' victory is especially sweet because this city is the home of George Pope, president of the National Association of Manufacturers.

Harry and James, brothers, were in their playroom for a little recreation after supper. Harry hit James with a stick. An argument followed, and in the midst of it the nurse came in with the news that it was time for them to retire. James was put to bed first. The nurse said:

"You must forgive your brother before you go to bed. He might die in the night."

After a few moments James replied: "Well, I'll forgive him tonight, but if I don't die he'd better look out in the morning."

One of the resources of the Arctic region described by explorer McMillan is immense deposits of coal. There was a stage in the development of the earth when these realms of ice teamed with tropical vegetation, and exhaustless coal measures are the result. The land office at Seward, Alaska, recently granted a patent to Charles McIntach for the most northern coal mine on the American continent. It is located at Corwin Bluff, on the shore of the Arctic Ocean, 160 miles north of the Arctic circle. The coal projects over the water, so that when ships steam into position under the outcropping veins their crews may knock off what they need into their bunkers. The coal was first observed in 1848, and subsequent to that time whalers were in the habit of dropping in at the point whenever in need of fuel The United States revenue cutters Corwin and Thetis often coaled there. Mr. McIntach proposes to develop the property in a large way.

ent Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

THE WAY WE DO THINGS.

We walk into our meals.
We run into debt.
We rush into print.
We step into practice.
We fly into passion.
We jump into fight.
We dive into a book.
We wade into an adversary.
We sink into a slumber.
We leap into notoriety.
We break into society.
We stumble into acquaintance.
We glide into intimacy.
We fall into love.
We precipitate ourselves into wedlock.—*Life.*

Notes and Comment has sought in vain for an announcement which would defend the Industrial Workers of the World by the men responsible for their being in the United States. Big interests have been of the opinion that Americanized workmen and native-born workmen were too independent and inclined to insist upon a square deal; hence the necessity for more and more foreign workers to take their places. When those workers, who owe allegiance to no country and to no government go on a rampage those responsible for their presence call upon the government to save them from their own short-sightedness and avariciousness. Organized labor teaches good citizenship; big interests foster the industrial workers' viewpoint; organized labor assumes responsibility, while the unorganized worker is a free lance and assumes to do big interests' behests until such time as he decides that after working all week he is in the company's debt, when he turns on the vipers who induced him to come to these shores. Granting right working conditions is not conducive to making I. W. W.'s.—*The Chronicle.*

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

RIGHTS OF LABOR.

In everything except labor none questions the right of the man who has something to sell to set the price. The working man has his labor to sell, and the union would enable him to set the price on his labor. The employer wants to set the price, and we are urged to exercise the grace of submission and trust to the hope and assurance of a reward in the sweet by and by. We are not going to surrender any of our hope of reward in the sweet by and by, but we want to get used to a good time here and now.

A school inspector, testing a class in fractions, asked a boy, whether given his choice, he would prefer one-sixth or one-seventh of an orange. The boy promptly replied that he would prefer one-seventh. The inspector more promptly explained that such action would be foolish, because, though the suggested fraction might seem the larger, just the reverse was true.

"I know, sir," said the boy, "that's why I chose it. I don't like oranges."

MILL MEN ENJOINED.

HOQUIAM, WASH., Aug. 14.—Judge Ben Sheeks has issued a temporary injunction against striking timber workers from picketing the Grays Harbor Lumber Company. The strikers are demanding eight hours in the sawmill branch and nine hours in the logging branch; sanitary conditions in all mills, abolishment of brass checks and trading coupons, no tampering with the workers' mail, the right to board where they please and other working betterments.

REMEMBER THE LABEL.

Remember, union men should demand union label goods and see that their dealers carry them.

You are placing a premium on non-union labor every time you buy goods without the label.

The greatest force for the betterment of the worker's condition lies in the worker himself—not by independent effort, but by uniting with his fellow worker and presenting a solid front. Buy label goods.

THE OLD RELIABLE **WIGWAM** TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

...dent Gompers. ...Brend Trust and all non-union firms.

"TO THE FELLOW WHO'LL TAKE MY PLACE WHEN I'M GONE."

Here is a toast that I want to drink to
a fellow I'll never know—
To the fellow who's going to take my
place when it's time for me to go.
I've wondered what kind of a chap he'll
be and I've wished I could take his
hand,
Just to whisper, "I wish you well, old
man," in a way that he'd understand.
I'd like to give the cheering word that
I've longed at times to hear;
I'd like to give him the warm handclasp
when never a friend seemed near.
I've learnd my knowledge by sheer hard
work, and I wish I could pass it on
To the fellow who'll come to take my
place some day when I am gone.

Will he see all the sad mistakes I've
made and note all the battles lost?
Will he ever guess of the tears they
caused or the heartaches which they
cost?
Will he gaze through the failures and
fruitless toil to the underlying plan,
And catch a glimpse of the real intent
and the heart of the vanquished
man?
I dare to hope he may pause some day
as he toils as I have wrought,
And gain some strength for his weary
task from the battle which I have
fought.
But I've only the task itself to leave
with the cares for him to face,
And never a cheering word may speak
to the fellow who'll take my place.

Then here's to your health, old chap; I
drink as a bridegroom to his bride;
I leave an unfinished task for you, but
God knows how I tried.
I've dreamed my dreams, as all men do,
but never a one came true,
And my prayer today is that all the
dreams may be realized by you.
And we'll meet some day in the great
unknown—out in the realm of
space;
You'll know my clasp as I take your
hand and gaze in your tired face.
Then all failures will be success in the
light of the new-found dawn—
So I'm drinking your health, old chap,
who'll take my place when I am
gone.

—Selected.

PREPARING FOR WAR.

Trade Union Movement a Great and Patriotic Power For Good.

In making the transition from a peace to a war basis it is necessary for us as a nation to sift our institutions and policies, retaining those that are sound and that give genuine service and rejecting those that are artificial and that contribute to the exploiting forces. We have been content with names rather than with realities. There have been many virile, essential agencies evolved out of fundamental needs of society that have not been recognized as a part of the political machinery. These forces are economic in nature. The real life and the real power of the nation are not political; they are economic.

Because our political institutions and theories have not been formulated with regard to the real power of the nation we have often been beguiled into believing that a democracy existed, when, in truth, the political forms were democratic in nature, but the actual control was exercised through economic instrumentalities, organized on an autocratic basis and contributing to the building up of exploiting and often corrupting forces.

The forceful democratizing agency that has been operating in the economic world has been the trade union movement.

As we go forward into the world war we need more than ever the trade union

movement. It has been needed in the initial work of preparing the nation for conflict. When demands came for an immediate, vastly increased supply of munitions, government departments and agents have depended upon trade union officials for information of sources of workers and to assist the government in securing and maintaining the good will of workers. The government could not deal with individuals. It had to work through some organized agency. That agency existed in the trade unions.

Many government officials handling industrial problems have been trained for other work and do not understand economic conditions, or how to deal with workers as workers. The government has found that it can facilitate its work by having trade union officials represent the workers, present their grievances and endeavor to reach an adjustment, because the trade union movement represents an effort to meet a real industrial necessity by securing working agreements between employers and employes.

No government can be maintained without mobilizing the good will of the masses. The trade union movement is a constituted agency by which this can be accomplished. In order to accomplish the work which it must perform the government must deal with workers as human beings—loyal, intelligent patriots. The trade union movement is an agency by which justice can be established, which is the only basis for cooperation and service.—*American Federationist.*

Many war gardens begin to look as though the enemy had charged over the battlefield.

It's not so much the German line that is impregnable as the German head.

Two out of every nine doctors will be drafted. Probably meaning, a cynic suggests, that a great many undertakers will have to go out of business.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased our Supreme Ruler, who knoweth all things best and doeth all things well, to remove from our midst our brother member, John M. Tingle. We mourn his loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and members of Locals Nos. 16 and 72, extend our deepest and sincere regret to the family, not to mention our own, for the loss of our brother member, John M. Tingle; be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved wife and family of John M. Tingle, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication in our monthly journal, and a copy be spread upon the minutes of our next meeting, and that our charter of Local No. 16 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

BLANCHE O'BRIEN,
JAMES HARDY,
JAMES LEWIS.

"A capable couple."

"So?"

"Yes; he is furnishing the house by means of tobacco coupons and she is decorating it with bridge prizes.—*Life.*

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Bakery & Confectionery Workers (REGISTERED) **LABEL**

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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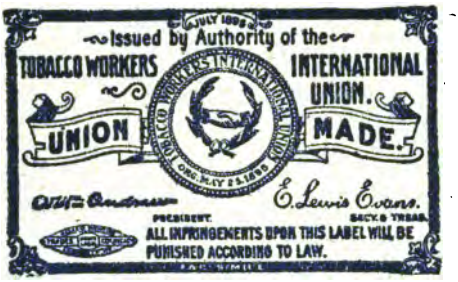

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JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

PRICE 5 CENTS

The **UNION LABEL** induced a trial

MERIT made it **A SUCCESS**

We make many other Brands **equally GOOD**

Ask for Samples

esident Gompers.

Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 SEPTEMBER, 1917 No. 9

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

PUT AWAY A FEW BUSHELS OF POTATOES.

This year's crop of potatoes is one of the largest we have ever harvested, estimated to be over 400,000,000 bushels, or 20 bushels for every American family. Behind that there is also a bumper sweet potato crop in the South, where state officials have taken steps to store this vegetable in modern warehouses to preserve its quality.

So we can look ahead and see a plentiful supply of potatoes for the winter at reasonable prices—there will be no such famine as we passed through last winter. This is fortunate. We need potatoes to cut down the cost of living and help us save wheat and meat for our Army and our Allies.

The United States Food Administration is taking steps to get these potatoes to the people. During October and November retail grocers throughout the country will conduct a selling campaign on Irish potatoes, handling them at a very moderate profit. Farmers will back up the movement by sending their potatoes to market. Newspapers will urge the public to buy and store potatoes, and the crop will be distributed to the best advantage to all concerned from producer to consumer.

Every family with a cellar, or other storage facilities, should put away from three to ten bushels, or more, of Irish potatoes while they are cheapest during the fall. Potato storage in the home is fairly simple. The tubers must be kept cool, dry and well ventilated. People often put a supply of potatoes in a closed cellar, thinking to protect them against cold, only to find later that dampness and warmth have caused decay. Heat probably ruins more potatoes in home storage than cold. Potatoes should be put in barrels with a few holes in the side so that they can have a circulation of air, or piled in a bin that is not too tight, or heaped on a few boards laid along the floor. Circulation of air to keep them dry and cool can be secured by opening the cellar windows during the day and shutting them on cold nights.

DODGE EQUAL PAY TEST.

SPRINGFIELD, MO., Sept. 8.—The State Council of Defense, at its meeting in this city, dodged the question of equal pay for women when they do men's work. President Wood of the State Federation of Labor is a member of the war board and called the council's attention to the policy of employers who are conducting schools for women, because, these employers say, the draft has created a labor shortage.

President Wood says the women are not replacing the drafted men, but are taking the places of those not in the army. He asked the council to record its opposition to this policy, and stand for equal pay, but the members refused.

FOOD—WHAT TO SAVE AND WHAT TO EAT.

The wholesale grocers have published a war food message for the American home which contains many practical suggestions for saving the food articles needed by our army and navy and allies while at the same time abundantly nourishing ourselves.

In the following list of more than 80 staple food articles there are only 16 which we are asked to use sparingly, and even a smaller number which we are asked to eliminate from at least one meal daily. This list will show what to save and how to select wholesome nourishing substitutes.

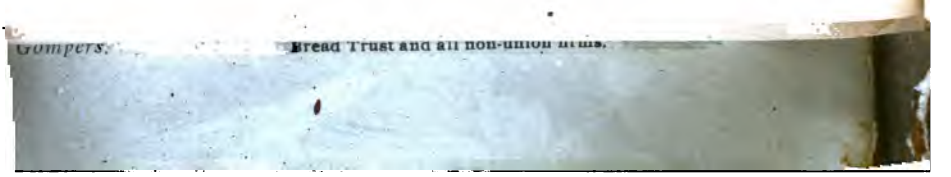
All foods may be divided into two great classes, those that supply energy and those chiefly valuable for the body's growth and repair. With this simple division in mind study the following tables and use sparingly the foods printed in capital letters. Eat as much as you want of all others.

TO KEEP UP YOUR ENERGY EAT

Foods that are Starchy	Foods that are Sugary	Foods that are Fatty
White potatoes	SUGAR	CREAM
Sweet potatoes	Syrups	BUTTER { Give plenty to children
Rice	Molasses	Egg yolk
Cornmeal	Honey	Oleomargarine
Hominy	Dates	BACON
Oatmeal	Prunes	PORK
Barley	Dried Peaches	LARD
WHITE BREAD	Raisins	SUET
Peanuts	Figs	Vegetable oils
Dried Navy Beans	Jellies	Vegetable fats
Dried Lima Beans	Jams	Beef Drippings
Split Peas	CANDIES	Goose oil
Bananas	Cakes	Chicken fat
Chestnuts	Dried Apples	Peanut Butter
Apricots	Maple Sugar	Soy Beans

FOR GROWTH AND REPAIR EAT

Foods that are Rich in Mineral Matter	Repair Foods	Foods that are Rich in Protein
MILK { Give plenty to children	Navy Beans	Milk
Egg yolk	Kidney Beans	Eggs
Prunes	Lima Beans	Poultry
Carrots	Lentils	Game
Spinach	Peas	Fish
Celery	Nuts	Cheese
Turnips	Corn	BEEF
Onions	WHEAT	VEAL
All Fruits	Oats	MUTTON
All Greens	Barley	PORK
All Fresh Salads	Rye	Soy Beans
Whole grains	Buckwheat	Peanuts



THERE IS DANGER OF SELFISH EXPLOITATION.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Sept. 8.—The editor of the *Locomotive Engineers' Journal* views the attempt of many employers to exploit women workers as degradation of females and gives expression to his disapproval as follows:

"In England and France it seems to have been necessary to find substitutes for men, doing men's work, but we understand that there the labor organizations took the matter in hand, and demanded that women get men's wages for like service, and that the government conceded the justice of the demand, and the two influences combined, secured an agreement with the employing class to carry out this principle, and to agree that on the return of the men succeeded, if they were in condition to render service, they should have their former places in place of the women hired on the war emergency.

"That change has already begun in this country, and while men are being conscripted, comparatively few places are vacated, but women are being employed beyond any need, and at work entirely out of harmony with womanhood, away from either sanitary or moral surroundings, and in too many places for the purpose of lowering wages, which takes with it the exploitation of women and the degradation of the working class.

"We have food control, coal control, control of the conduct of conscripts before they are enrolled, etc., but labor is left to look out for its own needs—a very difficult problem. Men well organized can do fairly well in looking after their own interests, but the substitution of unorganized women with lowered wages and extended hours is a menace to the interests of both, as it is of public welfare, and it seems to call for a concerted movement on the part of all who serve, and are interested in a common welfare, to try to arouse a public sentiment that will demand that no excess profits shall come from the employment of women, that the wage scale and hours of service be held as law governing all employers who employ women, or men, as substitutes for men conscripted for a common defense of the country.

"Equal pay for equal service, regardless of sex or nationality, will greatly lessen the demand for substitutes, and assist in maintaining a decent living and moral standard in the community. We cannot be too premature in bringing this subject to the attention of the public and all law-making bodies. Every contract that organized labor succeeds in making should have in it a clause, 'Like pay for like service;' then the opportunity to exploit labor, man or woman, would be eliminated."

UNIONISM JUSTIFIED IN WORLD-WIDE WAR.

INDIANAPOLIS, Sept. 8.—Trade unionism could not remain true to its principles and stand aloof from the present world war, declared Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., in a Labor day speech in this city.

"Regardless of the first cause for the present world-wide field of carnage," he said, "the logic of events has compelled our country to unsheath the sword in a contest that has since developed between forces that justify government based on the theory that rulers receive power from on high and government that acknowledges its dependence on the individual.

"In this struggle organized labor has taken the only course it can take and remain true to its policy and its principles. It is no answer to say that we should favor peace and take no part in a struggle 3,000 miles away. We favor peace on the industrial field, and yet our numbers in the State of Maine will rally to the support of attacked workers on the Pacific slope.

"We cry for peace and yet our members were in the ranks in this country's army when our nation went on sympathetic strike against Spanish domination in Cuba and secured freedom for the peoples of that island and of Porto Rico and the Philippines. We cry for peace, and yet our workers continually brave death in the mines, in transportation service and in all lines of industry, through occupational diseases and other causes.

"The longing for liberty is inherent in the members of organized labor, and when this aspiration of other peoples is checked by a power backed by educational development, by economic organization and by the greatest military machine the world has ever known, the American trade union movement, true to principles so continuously urged, took the open road to democracy when it was called on to choose.

"In opposition to this war, attention is called to profiteers who will reap benefit. This is true, but in protesting against these profiteers, and in supporting every movement that will check them, and will conscript their wealth, as has been done with men, I urge you not to lose sight of the principle that has been developed in this war since our country's entrance. This principle overshadows all else, and must not be subordinated to secondary questions of internal affairs that can be solved by an alert citizenship that must insist each shall do his share.

"The one outstanding fact that the historians are interested in is that the civil war destroyed the auction block for black men as a part of the business relations between white men, and the one great fact that will come out of the present great war is that the cause of democracy will be served as never before, for when the world's armies are disbanded it is inconceivable that men will accept conditions that are a denial of that freedom for which they so courageously and successfully battled."

ATTACK LABOR LAW.

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Sept. 15.—A conference was held here with the purpose in view of attacking the Keating-Owen child labor law and securing a decision similar to that made by Judge Boyd. Counsel and cotton mill owners from practically every southern state were represented. It is alleged that the conference determined to enter probably 12 or 14 suits to test the constitutionality of the law in as many federal districts. If successful in their efforts, the cotton mill owners feel they can thus avoid compliance with the provisions of the law without awaiting a decision from the United States Supreme Court.

YEARLY RAILROAD TOLL.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15.—Ten thousand and one persons were killed in the United States in railroad accidents in 1916 and 196,722 were injured, according to figures covering the year made public by the Interstate Commerce Commission. As usual, the greater number were trespassers on railroad property.

Passengers killed numbered 291; injured, 8,008; employes killed, 2,941; injured, 175,923; other persons, including trespassers, killed and injured, number 6,769 and 11,791 respectively. These figures show an increase over 1915 of 1,371 killed and 34,835 injured.

STRIKEBREAKERS CHEATED.

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 8.—"We're cheated!" cried a bunch of Washington, D. C., strikebreakers in the office of State Labor Commissioner McLaughlin.

The "free and independents" say they were lured to this city by agents of the United Railroads by the claim that they would be paid $5 a day as cooks. Now they are told they must work as motormen and conductors for a wage of $2 a day. They want the street car company officials and everybody else arrested.

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union arms.

WHAT The Unions Are Doing

Here, There and Everywhere

WICHITA FALLS, KAN., Sept. 15.—The Broom Makers' Union has signed up a scale with the employers which provides for an increase of 12 per cent.

OAKLAND, CAL., Sept. 15.—Cement Workers' Union has put into force a new scale which calls for $4.50 a day, being an advance of 50 cents over the old rates.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA., Sept. 15.—A new union has been formed here composed of waiters, waitresses and cooks, chartered by the International Alliance of Hotel and Restaurant Employes.

DALLAS TEX., Sept. 15.—The Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union of this city is putting in force a new scale which calls for 33⅓ cents per hour for brick carriers and 35 cents for hod carriers.

ALBANY, N. Y., Sept. 15.—Announcement has just been made by the officials of the International Hod Carriers and Common Laborers' Union that 36 new unions were added during the last quarter.

PASSAIC, N. J., Sept. 15.—Anticipating a demand for more wages, the textile mills decided on an advance to their employes, numbering 15,000. It is claimed that the increase will reach $1,000,000 and becomes effective immediately.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Sept. 15.—The city firemen have completed an organization and will apply to the American Federation of Labor for a charter. Nearly every fireman in the city's employ has signed the application.

CENTRALIA, WASH., Sept. 15.—An increase of pay of 2½ cents an hour for the street car employes in the employ of the North Coast Power Company, which operates an interurban line between Centralia and Chehalis, became effective September 1.

NEW WESTMINSTER, B. C., Sept. 15.—The 44-hour week, increased wages and other improved conditions went into effect on September 1 in all machine shops, the result of demands made by the Machinists' Union, which includes practically all mechanics employed at that trade.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Sept. 15.—Four hundred white and negro screwmen have asked for an advance of 20 per cent. when the new contracts are signed with stevedores and steamship agents. The present contract expires September 15, as does also the longshoremen. The latter have also asked for a 25 per cent. advance.

WINNIPEG, CANADA, Sept. 15.—The local branch of the International Photo Engravers' Union has succeeded in having every shop in the city sign up its new agreement, which provides for an increase in wages and better working conditions. All the boys are now vigorously pushing the use of the union label.

TACOMA, WASH., Sept. 15.—Announcement is made that wage increases amounting to thousands of dollars daily were granted women workers by the action of the industrial welfare commission. Possibly every other State industry, excepting lumber and shipbuilding plants, will be affected by the order. All industrial plants employing women will be compelled to pay increased wages. Plants in which the apprenticeship period is now six months will have to pay full wages at the end of a three-months' period. Apprentices are to receive an increase of 33⅓ per cent. in wages.

DENVER, COL., Sept. 15.—The Packing House Employes' Union demanded an advance of five cents an hour. A conference resulted and the representatives of the company offered a raise of two and one-half cents, which was accepted. More than 1,000 employes are benefited.

COBOURG, ONTARIO, Sept. 15.—A new local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, to be known as No. 1710, has been organized and includes nearly all the available carpenters in the city. The contractors have signed up to pay 55 cents an hour, with time and a half for overtime and double pay for Sundays and holidays.

VANCOUVER, B. C., Sept. 15.—With the completion of the organization campaign now in full force on Poplar Island, New Westminster and Coquitalam practically every shipyard in British Columbia will have been unionized. The engineers employed in the shipyards are 100 per cent. organized and are actively assisting in the work of bringing the other employes into line.

LONDON, ONTARIO, Sept. 15.—The strike of the brass moulders in the Empire Brass Company's plant, which was caused by the discharge of female core-makers who were replaced by women workers at a far lower rate of wages, has ended in a victory for the union. The attempt of the company to take advantage of wartime conditions was a thinly concealed effort to assume the attitude that if it became necessary owing to a shortage of labor at any time it would not oppose the employment of women, if they were given equal pay with men for the amount of work turned out, but the management refused to consider the proposition, with the result that the shop was tied up effectively. The strike lasted four weeks and ended when the company agreed to put men back on the work and lay off the women who were being used to reduce the wage rate.

PETERBORO, ONTARIO, Sept. 15.—As the result of the formation of a new union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners the minimum wage has been increased from 40 to 50 cents an hour and working hours have been reduced from ten to nine, and working conditions materially improved.

TORONTO, CANADA, Sept. 15.—The board of conciliation having under consideration the dispute between the street car men's union and the company over a demand for an advance of 10 cents an hour has rendered its decision. The finding grants the men six cents an hour increase and runs for two years, dating back to June 16. The rate fixed for motormen, conductors, motor and track repairmen is 30 cents for the first six months, 32 for the second six months, 35 for the second year and 37 for the third and subsequent years. Adding the two cents previously secured makes a total advance inside of a year of nine cents per hour.

NEW YORK, Sept. 15.—Prof. Roswell C. McCrea, of the economics department of Columbia University, in a paper filed in the matter of the application of 28 electric companies for an increase in fares, declares that wages in the United States are certain to go higher. His conclusions, based on an investigation of conditions in 1,600 industries in New York State, are:

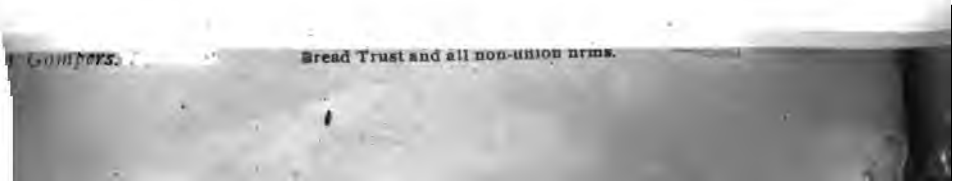
1—Street railway wages rather lower than in other enterprises requiring similar skill.

2—A similar upward trend of wage costs in various fields of similar labor skill.

3—A fall in purchasing power of money wages as compared with the costs of subsistence, and

4—An indication of increased labor costs in the future.

There is honor in being the owner of a Liberty Loan Bond as well as profit.



LOUISVILLE, KY.

To Officers of all Central Bodies, Building Trades Councils, and Local Unions affiliated:

GREETING—True patriotism, an expression of love and defense of our country and its flag, brings us at this time to the consideration of our boys now going to the front. We, as trade unionists, have a peculiar understanding of the words "Going to the Front," with the right foot forward and our mind intent on making good.

Your union is sending the most physically fit, and the truest trade unionists to the terrible conflict. As trade unionists at home we must do our bit too, where we can, for the comfort of our boys in active service in and behind the trenches.

You all have, of course, noticed that the agencies of the tobacco trust, and the United Cigar Stores are centralizing an effort to get their non-union products into all the camps and having them sent abroad for the troops in active service.

Among the activities is a patriotic appeal to the public for subscriptions to buy and send tobacco and cigarettes to our heroes of the Army and Navy.

We cannot, and do not, question the patriotic motives of the appeals to the patriotic feelings of the public in general; but it would be too much to expect any of the activities in this campaign on the part of the tobacco trust will have any trade union sentiment in them, and all the tobacco and cigarettes they may send will be made in their own non-union factories, none of it bearing the union label.

We do not want our union boys to think their fellows back home have forgotten them in their extremity and forced them while watching and fighting the enemy to use brands of tobacco and cigarettes that are not in accord with their trade union sentiments.

We are, therefore, appealing to your patriotic and trade union sentiment when donating to the Army and Naval Patriotic Tobacco Fund, to see that your good union-earned money is placed where goods bought for our Army and Navy boys will be spent for union labeled products, instead of giving it into the hands of the tobacco trust interests. We ask you, therefore, when donations are made to the Army and Navy Tobacco Fund in cash, check or otherwise, to send it either to the American Federation of Labor Office in Washington, D. C., or to the office of The Tobacco Workers' International Union, and we will forward it to the A. F. of L., and you can rest assured that all tobacco and cigarettes sent to our union members of the Naval and Land Forces will bear the union Label.

We feel that you should be acquainted with this situation and be given an opportunity to express your wishes in the premises. We know you will appreciate a situation that affords you assurance that the donations you feel able to give will be directed in accordance with your union sentiments. It is with this feeling in mind that we bring this matter to your attention by this letter.

With kindest wishes for the continued success, I am,

Fraternally yours,

TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION,
A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

'NOTHER LABOR "SOLUTION."

SEATTLE, Sept. 8.—On his way east from an Alaska summer vacation Judge Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation (the trust), declared there will never be a final solution of labor problems until employers have the right to employ men indiscriminately to work "under whatever conditions they may agree upon."

In Judge Gary's scheme, which is favored by every anti-unionist, organized labor will be expected to fold its tent and silently fade away.

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

The versatile head of the steel trust bobs up every now and then with some anti-union expression, giving vent to his opposition to organized labor. This time he says, "that the only solution of the problem between labor and capital is in the employer having full and unrestricted right in the exploitation of labor; that the employer be given the right to do as he pleases with the human labor he employs, forcing them to work under any kind of conditions the trust may dictate."

The labor movement has been established to go forward; they have organized and hoisted the flag of freedom, and have no intention of slipping back to the dark-age methods, when slavery was the workers' lot when employed by such men as Judge Gary. The august head of the steel trust would better think along twentieth century lines when studying labor problems, instead of those of medieval days when the sun shone only on the robber barons.

The strikebreakers who were sent to Washington, D. C., to break the street car strike last March, and were later shipped out to San Francisco to break the strike there on lines belonging to the same corporation, now have a grouch on, and have filed a complaint with State Labor Commissioner, charging that the company cheated them in their pay. It seems that these strikebreakers were to be given $5.00 per day, but were later paid off at a rate of $2.00. It looks like a case of the pot calling the ketttle black, six of one and half a dozen of the other, no difference between the two.

Legislation in Congress for the protection of soldiers, sailors and nurses, who may be disabled during the war, wherein the Government may insure all of them at the very reasonable rate of $8.00 per 1,000, is meeting the usual opposition from big businesses. The insurance feature follows somewhat along the Workman's Compensation Laws, now working so well. It is just possible that the rate of $8.00 per 1,000, being low, may have a future disturbing effect on the expectancy tables and rates, which is now the instrument that is making large fortunes for those interested in the insurance business. If, after the war, the cost sheets on liability show that the rate established by the Government for the soldiers, sailors, and nurses is within reason, the Government might turn its penetrating vision upon the insurance company's rates, and ask some embarrassing questions to which answers might be hard to frame.

...umpers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

The insurance fraternity have rolled logs and boulders in the way of every State Workman's Compensation Law that has been introduced in the various States, trying in every way possible to prevent their passage, and when passed, they then tried to stab them to death, but defeat has been the lot of most of them.

In this soldiers' insurance they see a danger, but for patriotic reasons they will not attack the legislation in such a way that their real reasons and fears may become apparent. The real reason may be, that after the war, following the Government's example, there may be a loud call for a rate re-adjustment, which may adversely affect big dividends.

Our boys may soon be in the trenches and going over "Top" for a run over "No Man's Land," as the space between the opposing forces in the war zone is known. They will be far and away from the comforts of normal life, and during moments between acts their thoughts may turn to the scenes they have left behind, perhaps for a time, perhaps for all earthly time. During such times you know what a comfort it will be to reach down to a packet for the makings and a match and review some pleasing scenes of the past in curling wreaths of smoke. Not a few of these experiences will be by those who have carried union cards, and who have consistently followed the principle that is enjoined, which is that of purchasing union labeled products. In the hustle, bustle of troop movement these essentials cannot always be kept in mind. So to fill in this gap, arrangements are being made to supply our boys with union labeled tobacco and cigarettes as far as it is possible. Newspapers and other societies are energetically working upon the Soldiers' Tobacco Fund. These are all based upon patriotic motives with thought only for the comfort of some lonely soldier friend, going on the idea that a smoke is a smoke as long as it is tobacco. There is no blame to them for the idea, but solid comfort will come from the indulgence when harmony of sentiment is in association with the consumption.

Every consumer of tobacco has his little pet desire that under normal conditions at home he surrenders himself to. We are desirous of making it possible for our boys to as nearly enjoy these pet comforts.

We feel, dear reader, that you have a relative or a friend whose union principles you know always dictated his purchase of tobacco and cigarettes, which were made under the conditions he, himself, advocated. He bought, when at home, smokers' articles which always bore the Blue Label. We know it is your desire that one of his comforts may be that the folks at home have thought of him with his union principles in mind and have attempted to meet the desire by sending some of his pet brand to comfort his lonely vigils.

To this end The Tobacco Workers' International Union is in arrangement with the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., which body is in close touch with the War and Navy Departments, whereby all packages can be sent to the person designated, who is now, or may hereafter, go over seas to the battle front.

With this end in view, we advise you that if you are making a donation for this purpose, to send it either to the office of The Tobacco Workers' International Union, or to the office of the American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. If you are sending the money to purchase the goods, send the name of the brands of goods which were your friend's favorites; send also your friend's name and the Regiment and Company to which he belongs, and he will receive his favorite Union Labeled smoke or chew, as the case may be. Let us help you to help your friend to his utmost crumb of comfort.

Enclosed with each package will be a

post card with your address on it for an acknowledgement of his receipt of your remembrance for his comfort.

If your friend is now in England or France, or located in one of our American encampments, send your donation and we will see that his pet Union Labeled brands reach him.

It is with not a little regret that we are compelled to state that the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company of Louisville, Ky., which has been a union shop so long has now seen fit to lock out their employes because of their refusal to pay the wage scale for a new style piece of twist. This firm makes the "Allen County," "Railroad," "Shepherd," and "Safety First" brands of twist which have enjoyed the patronage of the union consumers for years.

These brands no longer bear the label, and non-union conditions prevail in the Ryan-Hampton factory, of Louisville, Ky.

The circumstances leading up to this unfortunate condition are as follows: Owing to the necessities of the Government, on account of the war expense, it will be necessary to change the internal revenue, which necessitates a change in the size and weights of the packages and twists. The Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company evidently seeing an advantage to be gained by anticipating the increase in the revenue, made the changes in lowering the weights and sizes, and raised the prices some time before the new revenue bill passed Congress. In that way they were able to make the public pay them the revenue during the time elapsing before they were called upon to pay the increased revenue to the Government, and in that way repay the handsome profit on all goods sold under the changing conditions. When we called their attention to this profiteering business we were told it was none of our business. In this, of course, they were within their rights, "as it was not our business." However, it became our business when it came to making the new style goods, as our scale of wages provides that new style work is made a subject for a price adjustment.

When the samples of this new style piece of goods were made the firm paid the price we asked. Later, the manager came to the work-room and asked the men to make the goods for a price 28⅓ cents per hunderd less, which the men refused to do. After some lengthy negotiation he agreed to raise his price 15 cents per hundred, which was also refused. He then told the men that they could make the twist for the price he offered or get out. In accordance with instructions the men walked out.

During the negotiations our committee told Mr. Massey, the manager, that considering the high cost of living we were not looking for a cut in wages, but on the contrary, we were expecting a raise to meet the ever increasing cost of living, and that we would not stand for any cut in wages in this day and time.

When the men left the shop, Mr. Massey, we are advised, stated that from then on he would run an open shop. The Label Committee took the labels they had out of the shop, so that none have been used since the lockout began, and none will be used until the shop comes clean.

We feel that this notice is due to our many friends who have by their loyalty to the union label helped this firm to build up the nice profitable business they had. Your loyalty to the label will have just as much force for our good now as it had before, and we solicit a continuity of the practiced habit of looking for the label on all twist and other tobacco products you buy. ALLEN COUNTY TWIST, RAILROAD TWIST, SHEPHERD TWIST and SAFETY FIRST TWIST no longer bear the label. A word to the wise is sufficient. Look for the Blue Label.

The ever watchful eye of anti-union employers have been turned upon the I. W. W. question. They know full well that the recognized trade union movement has no association with or affinity for the I. W. W., but they use this present war crisis to take as many schrapnel shots as possible at the trade unions while using the I. W. W. as a camouflage to hide their real desires. Any port in a storm, anything that can be done to discredit the trade unions is grasped at with a hasty stroke.

However, it is only in the uninitiated minds that this kind of doctrine will find any fertility. The position taken by the trade unions as a whole, in its efforts to aid the government in every possible way, is known by the watchful but open minds, and the efforts to discredit the labor movement on the part of the maliciously minded opponents will, like the chickens, come home to roost.

These most unwarranted attacks upon our movement on the part of the rabid anti-union employers is a part of a long-headed scheme. They see that when negotiations for a peace truce are set on foot there will be an immediate stoppage of war supply production, millions of workers will be thrown out of employment pending an about-face movement for a readjustment of production and distribution, and they know that if the trade union movement is too strongly entrenched they cannot be forced in serious and compromising positions, but will act as a balance pole, steadying conditions lending to gradual resumption in industry, thus preventing a sudden and injurious fall from the top, with a bump, to the bottom where the man with capital to tide him over can swim until the chaotic condition resulting resolves itself into an orderly condition again. It is the hope of the antis to prevent the unions from fortifying themselves against an after-the-war confusion that they are busying themselves with obstruction methods. It is their hope that the unions will find themselves in such a condition that they cannot resist sweeping wage reductions when a condition of severe competition will take possession of the average industry.

If we may judge our immediate after-the-war conditions by those same conditions recorded in history, it will be well for us to prepare ourselves for such eventualities. That there will be serious times for many of us, for a time at least, few will deny. Now is the time to prepare ourselves for that period which will prevail while industry is readjusting itself in its return to normal condition. We must defeat the hopes and desires of our opponents, who are planning for the destruction of the forces that have compelled them to pay their employes a wage that they may live under the adopted American standards. Your union is the only instrument that can successfully stand between you and these destructive forces seeking to profit by the industrial misfortunes of the after-the-war reconstruction period.

FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Council of National Defense.

Short hours, fair wages, and sanitary labor conditions for foreign born women in industry have been announced as the war-time demands of the government at Washington. In order to obtain maximum output and at the same time safeguard the health of the workers, federal authorities are prosecuting rigid investigations of factories, stores, and workshops. Co-operation of managers and foremen is being sought in an effort to avoid those abuses of women in industries which prevailed throughout British, French, and Canadian munitions plants during the war.

Difficulties which have arisen due to the inability of the foreign women to understand orders are to be eliminated by widespread instruction in English.

Those workers who have fallen victims to unprotected machinery and fire, because they could not grasp the meaning of printed and spoken warnings, will be taught English. Our factory has already reported a 5 per cent. decrease in accidents among its foreign-born employes, as a consequence of English teaching.

Ignorance of the labor laws, which has resulted in deception and exploitation by unscrupulous employers, will be dispelled by informing the women workers regarding the legal standards of their industry.

"Even more important than the wealth of the nation is the health of the nation," is the dictum of officials at Washington. And with vigorous determination, the government is acting to prohibit night work for women in industries.

Women laborers who slave in factories at night are neglecting their children, according to government investigators. Americans everywhere are asking "Shall the little children bear the burden of the war?" The reply of the government is to organize effectively all infant health stations, school lunch rooms, day nurseries, settlements, and kindergartens.

Believing that an ounce of prevention is worth a long ton of cure, federal authorities are appealing to these women workers to refuse all night employment as long as they have children under school-age. "Let us see to it that the end of the war does not find our mothers and children broken in health and spirit," is the plea of far-sighted officials.

The eight-hour day, a living wage, one day of rest in seven, prevention of night work for women, education of foreign laborers against industrial pitfalls—these are among the demands expressed today by powerful government leaders.

TRADE UNIONISM PRAISED.

ALBANY, N. Y., Sept. 8.—*The Sunday Telegram*, in an editorial on "Organized and Unorganized Labor," says that as a result of this war organized labor has completely demonstrated its worth; its economic value and its absolute necessity to the orderly conduct of business.

"More than this," says the editor, "organized labor has proved its case to the complete satisfaction of capital, and has taught capital that its fight against organization was the result of lack of foresight, a failure to recognize real economic conditions ; in fact, the result of a woeful lack of intelligence on the part of men who should have been bigger mentally than they have proven."

NO HEAVY WORK FOR WOMEN.

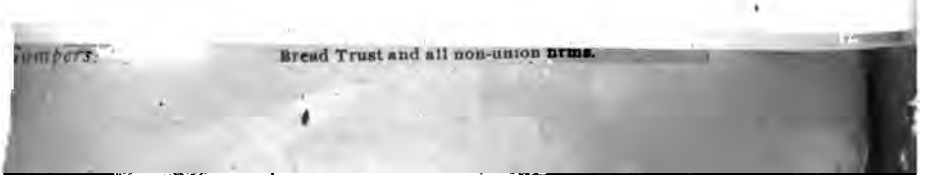
COLUMBUS, OHIO, Sept. 8.—The Ohio branch, Council of National Defense, has started a campaign to discourage the entry of women into industrial work, such as railroad employment, and to let it be known that the committee, representing the State, is flatly opposed to any suspension of labor laws, the child labor law in particular.

WHERE WOMEN FAILED.

VALPARAISO, IND., Sept. 8.—The Pennsylvania Railroad employed 32 women two months ago to take the places of section workers. The experiment has failed.

GETTING IN LINE.

PORTLAND, ORE., Sept. 8.—A new union of the International Timber Workers has just been completed here and it is expected to have a membership running into the thousands in the near future. The authorities made every effort to prevent the completion of the union, but were unsuccessful. Plans have been made for following the start with a vigorous organizing campaign. A number of mills and logging camps in the northwest are now operating under an agreement with the Timber Workers' Union and the eight-hour plan is reported to be proving satisfactory to all.



CONSCRIPT WEALTH AS WELL AS MEN.

FARGO, N. D., Sept. 15.—In commenting on the result of the recent Minneapolis conference, the *Courier-News* says:

"The American alliance for labor and democracy in its declaration of principles adopted at the conclusion of the big conference in Minneapolis came out strong for a number of progressive war measures, important among them being 'conscription of wealth as well as of men.' This is in direct line with the arguments which have been presented from time to time by the *Courier-News* and is only another indication that the campaign for an even distribution of the war burden is bearing fruit.

"It is argued that when the men of the nation chosen under the selective conscription plan of the government are taken to the front, they give all they have to give—their lives. It is no more than fair then, that the man who has been able to amass great riches in this country should give of what he has, his wealth, and the government should demand it if he is not willing to give of it freely. Many of the great fortunes in the United States have been the direct result of the war, and of these more than any other demands should be made.

"The American alliance also has a number of other ideas in the declaration of principles, including heavy taxes on incomes, excess profits and land values. It declares for equal suffrage and insurance for sailors and soldiers and demands that the government take quick action with regard to speculative interests which have taken the war as an excuse to enhance the prices of necessities.

"A committee was appointed to extend aid and encouragement to the new Russian republic and it is expected that they will go to Russia where they will be able to make an actual study of conditions and needs of the country.

"All through the meeting in Minneapolis was a strain of loyalty and in every utterance and action during the sessions there was indorsement of the government and an assurance of the loyalty of the laborers. It is only asked that the man who works with his hands be given a fair deal."

DENOUNCES CHILD LABOR.

HARTFORD, CONN., Sept. 15.—Child labor on farms is being severely denounced by those who have been observing its results in this State. One of the strongest opponents is Superintendent of Public Schools Thomas S. Weaver of this city. His condemnation is recorded in the following language:

"Not a tenth or even a twentieth of the boys are fit for farm work, any way," he said. "They're just little kids. It's ridiculous to put them to that kind of work. Just now it's up to the State labor department. But when school opens we'll see to it that they return. We'll get them back if we have to send a man out to every tobacco farm."

TO PROTECT STEEL PLANT.

PITTSBURGH, PA., Sept. 8.—The kaiser will get a warm reception if he attempts to capture the Carnegie Steel Company plants, now that employes have organized two machine gun units. It is stated that "inside defense companies will be strengthened and new ones organized in all the plants of the Carnegie Steel Companies as rapidly as possible."

"UNSKILLED IN A. F. OF L.

DULUTH, MINN., Sept. 8.—This is the way the *Labor World* answers the I. W. W. charge that the American Federation of Labor is not interested in the so-called "unskilled" worker:

"One union in Chicago, the building laborers, has more paid-up members than there are paid-up members of the I. W. W. throughout the country."

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Aug. 29, 1917.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—As you will have seen by the Auditor's report, the ordinary income to the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is not supporting it. It is necessary then to supplement it by an Assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an Assessment of 25c per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect September 1, 1917, and be collectible on or before October 6, 1917.

Officers and members of Local Unions are kindly requested to give this their particular attention.

Fraternally yours,

A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 10.

HEADQUARTERS
Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Aug. 29, 1917.

To Members At Large of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

GREETING—I now inform you that owing to the exceptionally heavy demand for sick benefits and the high death rate, the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is now lower than it has been for a long time. It is therefore necessary to supplement the regular income by an Assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an Assessment of 25c per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect September 1, 1917, and be collectible on or before October 6, 1917.

Members At Large will forward same to the International Office as soon after this notice reaches them as possible, and not later than the above mentioned date, the 6th day of October, 1917.

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

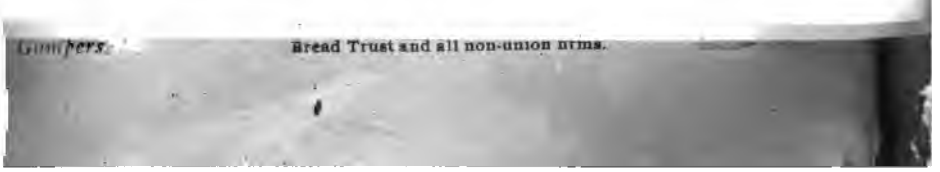
CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.



By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,

A. McAndrew, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 10.

San Francisco, Sept. 15.—Editor James W. Mullen of the *Labor Clarion* powerfully, brilliantly and lucidly pictures the future of that progressive democracy we are all hoping and longing for in the following article:

"As one scans the pages of history and reads of the struggles of the people of all ages to throw off the shackle that bound them to heartless masters it is, indeed, pleasant to note the success that is crowning the efforts of the people of today to rid themselves of government by others and to establish their right to steer their own course and shape their own ends.

"Throughout the entire world the men and women of common clay are asserting themselves in a manner that is sending the chill of fear through the frames of those who have held high stations and cruelly ridden upon the backs of their humble brothers. There is not a corner of the world which has not been stirred to some extent by the leaven of democracy during the past trying year. Europe, Asia and Africa are full of open advocates of the rights of humanity who have but little fear of the powerful autocrats who formerly compelled submission to their wills, while the western hemisphere, always strongly democratic, is adopting measures calculated to strengthen the grip of the people upon governmental institutions in order that they may more readily be made to serve the purpose for which they were instituted—that of meeting the needs of civilized humankind, rather than that of making life more luxurious and easy for the favored few.

"Truly the trend of the times, the world over, presages the end of autocratic rule over the lives of men. And in this powerful and successful effort at democratizing the world the great uncounted millions of those who earn their bread in the sweat of their brows, and who have had the intelligence and foresight to weld themselves together in the modern labor movement, have played no inconspicuous part. Their efforts have been fruitful in the past, and every indication is that the immediate future will find their struggles of even greater worth in the battle of man against master, and that the next few years will mark an epoch in the world's history, recording a progress for humanity unequaled in all the annals of time. Crowned heads are falling into the basket of democracy at a rapid rate and the momentum gained bids fair to carry the work forward until arrogant autocracy has been thoroughly humbled and made to do its share of the world's necessary labor.

"Taking into account the frailties, limitations, and imperfections of human ity he would, indeed, be an optimist who entertained the hope that equal and exact justice would be the early end of such a struggle. In spite of the pitfalls and dangers that lie in the path of progress, these are, nevertheless, glorious days for the lovers of justice, because they do hold out the hope that when the slaughter that is now spreading anguish and sorrow throughout the world shall have been brought to an end, the great masses of oppressed people who now have little or no control over their manner of life will find themselves in a position where they can, in large measure, exercise influence over the conditions which shape their mode of living. And this, while not all that could be properly asked for, is, indeed, progress that may well fill the world with gladness over such a prospect.

"The things in this world worth having are usually hard to get. If, then, we are called upon to make sacrifices in order to gain liberty, we should do so

without unusual complaint, and every man should be willing to do his part toward ushering into the world the right of all to an equal voice in governmental affairs. The laggard and the coward, the lazy and the selfish, the helpless and the hopeless we have always had with us, but in spite of their presence the red-blooded men of the world have gone on from one triumph to another in the interest of humanity. Every age and every clime has contributed its quota of unselfish souls willing to make the final sacrifice that the world might be made a better place in which to live. The greatest struggle the world has ever known is now going on in Europe, and the issue between the contending factions is mainly the supremacy of autocracy or democracy, whether the few shall rule the many or the many rule themselves, and men of the modern world are making sacrifices greater than any ever made by the ancients for the same cause, though their prospects for success are also much greater.

"When a little more than three years ago a war-mad despot started to deal out death and despair, things looked black for democracy because it seemed to point to the hand of autocracy as powerful enough to compel submission to its dictates, but just as many a dark and cloudy morning turns out a bright and sunshiny day, so have the clouds that at the beginning of this great world war obscured from view the golden rays of liberty passed away, and now there is in sight a vision that the most optimistic in their wildest flights of fancy dared not contemplate. The world now looks brighter for the people and darker for the despots, because in the distance, beyond the awful sacrifices that must be made in the name of freedom, there stands out in bold relief the figure of democracy victorious, triumphant, dominant.

"If this shall be the result, and all indications seem to point in that direction, then the sorrows and pains, miseries and sufferings of the champions of democracy shall not have been in vain. The goal gained will compensate for the terrible price paid."

WOMEN IN LUMBER CAMPS.

ST. PAUL, MINN., Sept. 8.—Labor Commissioner W. F. Houk discloses the fact that lumber barons of the State are employing women to do the extremely hard and laborious work that is required of lumber jacks. This can hardly be looked upon as elevating womanhood.

HERE'S TO LAUGHTER.

Here's to laughter, the sunshine of purity, the echo of innocence, the treasure of the humble, the wealth of the soul, the happiness of the heart, the leaven of youth, the privilege of the poor, the bead of the cup of pleasure; it dispels defection, banishes blues and mangles melancholy, for it's the foe of woe, the destroyer of depression, the enemy of grief; it is what makes kings envy peasants, plutocrats envy the poor, the guilty envy the innocent; it's the sheen on the silver of smiles, the ripple on the water's delight; the glint of the gold of gladness; without it humor would disappear and smiles would shrivel, for it's a glow of a clean conscience, the voice of a pure soul, the birth cry of mirth, the swan song of sadness.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS
to purchase bread only which bears

THIS

LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

STRONGHOLD

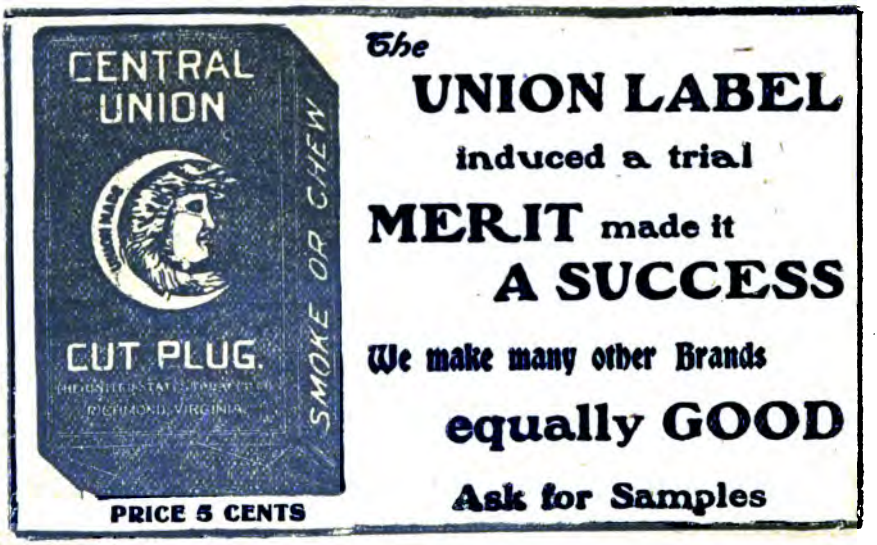
PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL



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Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 OCTOBER, 1917 No. 10

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Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

GRIT, NOT EMOTION, SWAYS ENGLAND, WHOSE UNIONISTS ARE MOST ACTIVE.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20.—"The 'sterling manhood' stuff don't go in England these days. If an army of 10,000 would march through the streets of London, there would be no cheering," said James Lord, president of the A. F. of L. mining department, who has just returned from his trip across the Atlantic as A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the British trades union congress, which held its annual convention at Blackpool. John Golden, president of the United Textile Workers, was Lord's colleague.

"One must visit England to appreciate the grimness of the British people," said the miners' official. "You don't hear cheers—they seem out of place. Every family has lost a father, son or a brother. 'My boy has gone under' is the calm, matter-of-fact way they inform you that a loved one has died on the Flanders line, in Africa, or Mesopotamia. There is no squealing. Grief has been replaced by a grit and a determination of each one to 'see this thing through,' let the cost be what it may.

"Organized workers over there have made some wonderful gains since the war began and now it is taken as a matter of course when trade unionists are seen in what was formerly the sacred precincts of the house of lords. The term 'my lord,' in many cases, has been replaced by more familiar terms. The democratizing influence of Lord George has been a tremendous factor in this change. Another element is that politicians realize they must possess some knowledge of political economy, and they are cultivating the acquaintance of trade unionists rather than be lost in the changing orders of today.

"There are two large labor organizations in England—the British trades union congress, with a membership of 3,000,000, and the general federation of trades unions, with a membership of 1,000,000. The latter was organized, primarily, as I understand, to collect funds to finance strikes, although it has naturally enlarged this function. The congress, which Golden and I attended as A. F. of L. fraternal delegates, treats with all phases of the labor question and is looked upon as labor's spokesman, but both organizations are regular. This situation contains strange contrasts to one who has not lived in the British Isles. The federation maintains international relations with the workers of other countries, and under its auspices was held the conference of workers' representatives of the allied countries one week after the Blackpool meeting of the congress. The American Federation of Labor appointed representatives to this gathering, while our movement annually sends fraternal delegates to the congress.

"This situation must not be considered

dualism as we understand it in America. On the contrary, the plan seems satisfactory, and many national unions belong to the two organizations.

"To show how futile it is to judge of English conditions through American eyes, I cite the manner of conducting a debate in a convention of the British trades union congress. The president appoints spokesmen for the two sides of an issue and then the debate closes, except when a member insists on being heard on an important question. This works entirely satisfactory, but what would happen at an A. F. of L. convention if a delegate favored this plan?

"The workers' political activities in England present the same contradictions —to the outsider, although satisfactory to the men who have built up this system.

"Affliated to the labor party is the independent labor party, which is a part of the international socialist movement, but the independent labor party would not put up a candidate where the welfare of the workers demand every vote to elect a champion or defeat an enemy. As an instance of this feeling, Thomas Burt, Northumberland miner, is probably the oldest living representative of the workers in a law-making body. He is elected continuously as a member of parliament without opposition from any section of the workers, although he is known as 'an old line trade unionist' and has steadfastly refused to subscribe to the socialist doctrine. The Northumberland workers know Burt can be depended upon and they would denounce as treachery to the working class any effort to defeat this worker who, as a liberal, 50 years ago, was looked upon as a wild-eyed anarchist.

"Women workers are found everywhere. They are rapidly joining the trade union movement, and while they are not receiving the same wage as men in many cases, the unions are making this battle with pronounced success."

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Labor Day, 1917, dawns upon a world convulsed in a titanic struggle for fundamental principles—future world institutions are in the balance. Our own Republic is girding itself for battle. For nearly three years the struggle has been waged before our nation was drawn in—but our participation was made inevitable not only by the manifold inter-relations between nations but by the nature of the principles involved. As between democratic freedom and bureaucratic despotism no nation could remain neutral.

No organization within the United States has had more correct understanding of the issues and the dangers involved than the organized labor movement and no element is more important in enabling the nation to take effective part in defense of our position.

A nation preparing for war must begin with its industries. Since war was declared the needs of the government have become of paramount importance in industry and commerce. An economic reorganization is taking place. The economic center has gravitated to Washington and the new economies make necessary direct relations and an understanding between workers and the government. The government can not deal with these workers individually and therefore must deal with their representatives. A representative capacity is only possible where organization exists. With this understanding the American Federation of Labor has been trying to protect the rights and interests of all workers by securing the establishment of agencies for dealing with matters affecting those engaged in war production.

Problems growing out of the work are problems that affect the lives of workers. They are therefore important to our nation and government not only from the standpoint of material effectiveness but of ideals. A government fighting for freedom and democracy abroad must

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

establish industrial justice in war production at home. For workers are serving the cause just as much as soldiers in the trenches—though not so conspicuously or with such hazard.

The basis upon which our Republic should ask its workers to give service is adequate representation of all agencies determining government plans and methods of carrying them into effect.

Progress has been made toward this end but the workers do not feel that it has gone far enough to assure the toilers their rights. Just methods for insuring justice to workers are the only effective means by which their united co-operation can be secured for the war and by which the menace of terrorism and industrial anarchy can be removed.

The members of organized labor have demonstrated their patriotism and their appreciation of the country's need, by their patience and their service even under conditions which they could not justify.

On this day, dedicated to Labor, the thoughts of all workers may well be directed to this problem which involves both humanity and country. It is a problem that is of fundamental importance in securing democracy and freedom the world over. The new world relations which Labor hopes to create through the instrumentality of this war must bring freedom and humanity in the vital affairs of life the world over.

Let every worker and every labor organization on this day plan for the realization of their greatest ideals by effective practical demonstration, and action.

The clouds of war hover above us, the world of pain, suffering and travail clutch at our very heart strings, but beyond them and the sacrifices is a sunbeam of encouragement and hope; just a glimmer of victory in the end; a glimpse of the sunbeam which will burst into a full noonday of glorious triumph, of peace with justice, freedom and democracy for all the peoples of the world.—Samuel Gompers, in *American Federationist.*

THE UNION LABEL IS A BADGE OF DISTINCTION.

A great many people are little concerned, if at all, under what conditions the men and women are employed who make the goods they wear or who assist in preparing foodstuffs for the consumer. And yet, it is but a short time since when many of the industrial strikes and troubles with which the body politic was afflicted were caused mainly by man's inhumanity to man, and the utter indifference of the purchasing public.

As a result of these industrial upheavals it was found absolutely necessary to issue what may be termed a "badge of distinction," or in other words a "label," which differentiated between articles of commerce being made under conditions in which, at least to some slight degree, the worker had a voice. It was by the issuance of this "badge of distinction" that present-day crusades in right living and greater sanitary precautions really had their beginning.

Time is not so remote but that we can recall that in shop or factory employing fifty persons, two-thirds of the workers were sufferers from headaches, and a great deal of lost time occurred on account of sickness brought on primarily by poor sanitary surroundings and lack of, if any, ventilation.

Many thousands of dollars have been spent in the several industrial states in an effort to combat the tuberculosis evil. Sanitarians—that is, professional sanitarians—come and go; and get what the workers have secured along these lines at an awful sacrifice. They have had to strike, sacrifice what little they may have saved for the proverbial rainy day, to the end that proper provision be made to remove deathly and deadly fumes, and dust arising in the manufacture of articles of commerce.

Thus it may be seen that when an employer granted better and more improved conditions, he was given the right to use that "badge of distinction"—the Union Label—not so much that it represented a certain class of workmen, but to the end that a discriminating public might show its appreciation for his interest in the workers' welfare by granting them those conditions which have to do with life more nearly free from sickness and an early death.

And when an employer or concern grants those cleanly, sanitary conditions, reasonable hours of employment, and treats his employes like human beings, there is that then which falls upon every individual who believes in those things, and that is to patronize those articles which bear the "badge of distinction"—the Union Label.

Some there are who view with alarm the use of the Union Label. They apparently take the viewpoint that it deprives them of their liberty of action. On the contrary, it does no such thing. It merely registers the fact to the public that when an individual or firm subscribes to the use of the "badge of distinction" it differentiates between goods made under conditions in which the worker has no voice and those in which he is a factor.

Were this more thoroughly understood there would today be an almost universal demand for those articles of commerce which do not cause the toilers to succumb to the ravages of disease and premature death. There would in the finality be less call for the so-called social-service institutions; less call upon public charity. In fact, along with low wages and long hours, there perhaps is no one condition which has contributed quite as much to human ills as has the utter disregard for the health of the workers by some employers, and their number continues to grow less.

Tremendous progress has been made in more recent years along this line, but it has been secured at an awful price to those who are now with their forefathers. They gave of their meager earnings; they gave of their precious time; they gave of their vitality and ability, that their children and the children of others might come into better and more livable working conditions.

And when you receive wages or a salary earned under conditions which are vouched for by the "badge of distinction"—the Union Label—see to it that you spend the money in the purchase of such articles that bring a little more sunshine and joy to the toilers in other crafts and trades. The Union Label is a "badge of distinction;" it pays a distinct compliment to the firm that places it upon their product. All the world may then know that he or they are doing what they can to lengthen the lives of the workers, and that they are ereated like human beings.—*Cincinnati Chronicle.*

"THE LABEL MAN."

There's a label on his patent shoes; a label on his ties;
A label on his coat and pants, on every suit he buys;
Cigars he smokes are union-made; a label in his hat,
And when it comes to underwear, you'll find there's one on that.
There's a label on his shirt and belt; a label on his hose;
A label on his handkerchiefs, and on his working clothes;
His barber shop's a union house; his bakery goods are fair,
And when he orders printed cards, the label's always there.
There's a label on his household goods; the graniteware and rugs;
The neighbors claim this union man is simply label bugs.
Perhaps he is, but he's a gem; consistent all the while—
The advertising he creates helps our whole rank and file.

—Exchange.

...pers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

WHAT The Unions Are Doing

Here, There and Everywhere

OWOSSO, MICH.—Ann Arbor railroad machinists have secured their first schedule and raised wages 2½ cents an hour.

WILMINGTON, DEL.—A new local of blacksmiths and helpers has been organized by the international union of this craft.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—The Corset Workers' Union is conducting a vigorous organizing campaign among women employed in this industry.

PORT ARTHUR, TEX.—Organized plumbers in this city and in Beaumont have suspended work to enforce a wage increase from $6 to $7 a day.

ST. JOSEPH, MO.—Packing plants in this city are being organized following the successful strikes of butcher workmen in Kansas City and Omaha.

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA.—Striking employes of the Pacific Dredging Company have compromised wage demands and returned to work.

DULUTH, MINN.—The Farnum Bros.' Contracting Company has recognized organized labor and signed a union shop agreement with the Carpenters' Union.

RICHMOND, VA.—A reduction of one hour in the work day and wage increases of 75 cents a day since April 1 is the record of Painters' Union No. 1013.

MEMPHIS, TENN.—The Printing Pressmen's Union has signed a three-year agreement with employers. Wages are increased for journeymen and apprentices.

TACOMA, WASH.—A few hours before the Laundry Workers' Union's strike call employers raised wages 10 per cent. and signed a one-year agreement.

GUFFEY, TEX.—Oil workers in this vicinity—the oldest oil field in the state—have perfected a trade union and have voted to join the State Federation of Labor.

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.—Because of the helplessness of dual and seceding labor organizations, trade unionists refer to these institutions as "goose club" unions.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Plasterers' Union No. 592 has secured voluntary wage increases from 55 to 70 cents an hour. This union has jurisdiction over cement finishers, composition floor layers and asphalt workers.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—Employes of the American Locomotive works favor the eight-hour day and a 25 per cent. wage increase They realize that only through organization they will be successful, and are acting accordingly.

BOSTON, MASS.—After arranging for a strike to enforce wage demands, Horseshoers' Union No. 95 accepted a compromise presented by the employers at the eleventh hour. Former rates of $22 a week are increased $2.

DALLAS, TEX.—The Leather Workers' Union has won its strike against Padgitt Brothers, this firm agreeing to pay 50 cents an hour, which is an increase of about 15 per cent., on all private and Government work.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—After stubborn opposition the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad has finally signed an eight-hour agreement with its federated shop men. Wage increases, which date back from July 16, amount over $45,000 a year.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The number of farmers' purchasing and marketing organizations in the United States is placed at about 12,000 in a survey just completed by the Department of Agriculture. Creameries, cheese factories and farmers' elevators are the leading types of co-operative purchasing and marketing enterprises.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The various Painters' unions of this city, acting through their district council, have secured a union shop contract and the 44-hour week. A minimum wage of 45 cents is agreed to, with time and a half for overtime and double time for Sundays and holidays.

SOUTH BEND, WASH.—Striking timber workers have been fined $25 each for violating an anti-picketing injunction, although it was proven that the unionists' "crime" consisting of only looking at a struck mill. The employers' case was handled by the Employers' Association of Washington, which is aiding the mill owners to combat the eight-hour demand of their employes.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—A strike against the Peet brothers' soap plant has been settled by this concern making concessions and agreeing that employes have the right to join the Soap Makers' Union. The company had secured a temporary injunction from Federal Judge Pollock, who ordered the strikers not to intimidate strikebreakers, either directly or "indirectly."

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—The Coast Seamen's Journal prints a sermon in these few words:

"Conciliation and arbitration are, of course, well worth seeking. In the present imperfect state of industrial morals, however, it is apparent that the hope of attaining these ends lies chiefly in the power of either or both parties to fall back upon the sterner alternatives."

BOSTON, MASS.—Fifteen hundred coal teamsters and chauffeurs have raised wages $2 a week, this being in addition to a $1 increase last May. Under the old schedule single team drivers were paid $15 a week, they will now receive $18. Wharf men are increased to $18, double team drivers to $19, three-horse drivers to $20, electric truck chauffeurs to $21, and gasoline truck chauffeurs to $22.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Sept. 8.—Organized Southern Textile workers have won a most important victory in this city after waging a fight for improved conditions since last May. Several mills, employing 3,000 workers, have accepted the strikers' original demands. The mill owners were assisted by imported gun men and the Tennessee Manufacturers' Association.

NEWARK, N. J.—Vice Chancellor Lane has sentenced Harry Stevenson, Secretary of Iron Molders' Union No. 40, to 40 days in jail and Joseph Schum, a member of the same organization, to 20 days in jail for violating an injunction. The molders have been on strike for several months and the Vice Chancellor said his order has been "most contemptuously and flagrantly violated."

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.—The Builders and Traders' Exchange announces to a waiting world that its members, after due deliberation, have declared for the non-union shop.

These business men don't like the idea of employing only union men—they want to mix 'em up and give the non-unionist a show. While the critic would ask: Why don't these business men advise the unorganized to join the union? The G. R. business man knows this would mean higher wages and better working conditions, which is the last thing he favors. So he makes a tissue paper cloak for his anti-unionism and joins other economic dunces by talking about the "open shop."

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 20, 1917.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—Herewith find the result of the vote recently taken by Local Unions on the amendment proposed to Section No. 40 of the Constitution, increasing the dues from 10 to 15 cents per week. The total vote returned was 1,671—879 in the affirmative; 792 in the negative, giving a majority of 87 votes in favor of the amendment.

The following table shows the vote as reutrned by each Local Union:

Local No.	For	Against
1	1	12
2	231	.....
11	4	34
12	41	113
13	100	400
16	165	.....
18	No vote	No vote
19	.....	15
23	.....	9
24	No vote	No vote
25	21	46
37	18	7
38	8	.....
44	22	30
45	36	.....
48	5	.....
59	85	.....
63	10	.....
69	.....	20
72	15	14
74	No vote	No vote
75	13	.....
81	No vote	No vote
84	18	.....
98	52	.....
102	No vote	No vote
108	10	42
124	.....	50
131	24	.....
138	No vote	No vote
Total	879	792

When the amendment was proposed, it carried a recommendation that if carried it would become effective at the beginning of either our fiscal or the calendar year, according to the date when the amendment should be adopted. As our fiscal year, July 1st, for 1917 is past, the amendment will therefore become effective January 1, 1918, which is the beginning of our next calendar year.

The membership is certainly to be congratulated for this piece of progressive legislation, as it is a step forward in keeping abreast of the times. We are now among the very few low due unions in this country. All the strongest and most progressive labor organizations have changed from lower to higher due unions, and it is a peculiar fact that every union which has overcome its prejudice against high dues, and adopted a high due system, has marked a new era in its life. From the time when the high due system has been established much greater progress has been made, and they have become a stronger factor for the protection of their best interests.

Now that we have stepped from the old to the new, let us also become more progressive and build up for ourselves a greater protection. We need it as much as those who have gone before us, and there is no reason on earth why we cannot reap the benefits of this new time in the Twentieth Century. So with our right shoulder to the wheel, let us all push with a good will.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

SEATTLE, WASH.—The trade union movement is in serious danger, according to this statement in a letter to a trade union official in this city:

"There are some things about the unions which are good and many other things which should not be tolerated in a civilized community for an instant. The idea of an ignorant laborer telling his or her employer how they should run their business is getting to be somewhat of a joke and will not be tolerated much longer."

CORRESPONDENTS will please write only on one side of the paper. Address all matter for publication to

E. LEWIS EVANS . . . . EDITOR

Rooms 50-51-52-53 Iroquois Life Building

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

What does Democracy mean to you?

Has Democracy a meaning to you that is worth fighting for?

Did you ever think of the relation that Democracy has to your trade union?

Does Autocracy offer anything that appeals to your aspirations? We have failed to see anything so far.

To our mind autocracy is a system of slavery to the workers that a liberty-loving people could not tolerate. There is no room for it in this land.

In this scramble for place, and defense of labor's conservation, representative organization of labor is the best and only means of maintaining labor in its rights. Organize, Educate and Organize.

You do not see the governments of the autocratic countries working in harmony with the trade unions in this war, as is the practice in the democratic countries of the United States, Great Britain, or France.

From what we have seen during the past three years, can you reach any other conclusion than that democracy is what the workers and the tradeunionists want. There is a freedom and liberty under it that is not possible under an autocracy. To maintain these things and defend them is a duty that becomes us all at this time.

As terrible as the war has been, it has not been without some production for good to both employer and employe. Many employers who formerly persistently refused to have any dealings or relations with organized labor, are now dealing with their employes through organization. Previously they had built up in their minds that organized labor in their industry meant disorganization, and chaos, and the loss of the conduct and control of their business. Certain conditions and circumstances have so shaped things arising in this European conflict, that, dealing with a responsible head, when conflict of opinion arose, became necessary. The result of this forced experiment has been that the bugbear that had been conjured up in their minds with relation to a labor union has been disassociated and evaporated, because it was found that it was the only sensible method, and the throwing of the burden of responsibility which an agreement entails equally upon the labor employed and the employer has had the effect of injecting a spirit of confidence and a mutuality of interest

...pers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

that is not possible under other conditions. Many employers have not had the time or inclination to treat with labor under organized conditions, with a written agreement between them. They were unable to get over a long-timed and deep-seated prejudice that really had no foundation in fact, but had been built upon half-baked theories, absorbed and adopted quite largely from hearsay, and it took the shock of necessity, resulting from a world's calamity, to effect a change of mind and attitude. The recognition of the government of the necessity of dealing with responsible heads, representing labor employed in its ramified industrial works has, no doubt, not been without its effect in the premises, as when any conflict of opinion arose it could deal with some one who could speak with authority in the adjustment of the question at issue. We are all the better off for the arrival at an understanding.

One of the developments which labor in American industry can credit the German frightfulness for, is the opportunity presenting to the people the real causes for, the unrest and disatisfaction that prevails in industry throughout the country.

A majority of the people who are more or less interested in industry in an indirect sense, have no conception of the conditions effecting the workers who stand in front of the machine or swing the tools that shape the products for market. The workers employed in factories and other lines of industry were impersonal in relation to them; they saw the laborer going to and coming from his labors, morning and evening; sat perhaps in the same seat in the street car with them as they went to and fro, but paid no heed to them. It never occurred to them to enter into conversation with them, or make any effort to learn their condition of employment, their environments at home, or at work. It never crossed their mind that many, if not most of them, worked in the factories under a severe system of espionage, and that any attempt on their part to improve their working conditions was at once reported to the manager, who would immediately order their discharge. It has taken this world's crisis to show the causes of unrest and bring them to the surface and public view, where the purifying rays of light of the sun could kill out the cankerous condition that obtained. The organized unions have endeavored to do it, but only succeeded in a partial way. This great upheaval brought about a condition where labor did not have to submit to the impositions that had been in constant practice up to them. The spy system that has been so obnoxious to the workers has been for the moment modified in its effect, at least; old rutty conditions have been upset and the more sensible method of dealing with labor has for the time being, taken the place of the old ruthless system of enslaving the workers wherever possible; as one man put it, if we educate our working people too highly there will be few, if any, to do the work in industry. This statement gives a portrayal of the trend of thought that moved such an utterance. He was afraid that the light of intelligence too freely dispensed and absorbed by the workers would promote too much independence, fitting the workers with a knowledge sufficient to demand proper human treatment at the hands of the grinding employer.

During the period immediately after, and perhaps, for some years after the close of the war, this class of employer will not likely be in position to send to Southern Europe and bring over shiploads of the poorer classes, totally ignorant of the living standards in American industry, and force them into an industrial slavery that made many of them curse the day they came here. An awakened intelligence in America, and nondrafts of ignorance from Europe, has

put a scare into some of our slave-driving employers, causing the query, "What are we to do for cheap labor after the war?" "Too much education will ruin our profits."

There never was a time in the history of the world, when and where so many millionaires and billionaires have been made, as has been the case here in this United States during the last few years, and there never was a time when so much money was used to corrupt legislation, or anything else that had the greatest good for the greatest number as a goal of attainment. Let us hope that with the closing of the war, that the great light of a higher and more noble spirit of humanitarianism will have gained a higher position in the relations of man to man.

Status Quo Anti. What does that mean? The phrase means in plain language: Stop where you are; do not go forward. This is the position that capital (or some of it) wants labor to take: Don't ask for more wages during the war; don't ask for better conditions to work under while the war lasts. Would that not be a nice how-do-you-do? Stand still and let selfish greed make all the profit while we either pay the increased cost of living bill or let the grocer or other retailers go hang!

No, Mr. Profiteer, we cannot do that; we have to live decently, save our self-respect by paying our bills as we go. We know the profits look big and alluring, but we cannot stand still and let you mow all the grain and put it in your own granary. We must have at least a living share of it, and it is incumbent upon us, as you raise prices of commodities, to ask for an increase for our part in production. So do not expect us to stand still while you go onward and upward with your prices. It does not fit in.

UNIONISM MAKING HISTORY.

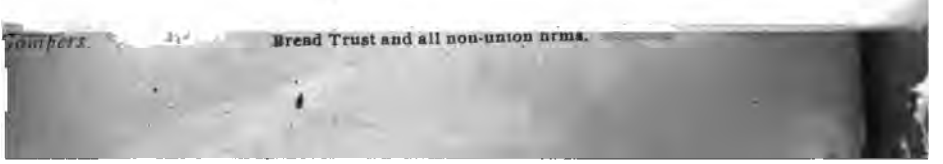
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—"Organized labor in the United States is going ahead more rapidly at present than at any other time in its history," writes Editor Mullen in the *Labor Clarion*.

"In truth it is making more progress in a single week now than it formerly made in years, and this quick action is sure to bring in its wake new problems for solution, questions which will require the active application of the best brains in the movement, and the exercise of forethought and sound judgment on the part of the rank and file. The union that is building its structure accordingly is a wise union, and the one that is ignoring the possibilities of the future will be sorry for it. Employers who are compelled to yield today to the demands of justice will be just as greedy as ever and just as anxious to re-establish old conditions when the opportunity presents itself in the future. Prepare for that time. Be in a position to convince such men that a backward step means a stubborn and costly struggle for them."

SLAVERY OF BELGIANS WORSE THAN BLACK SLAVERY.

The first slavery of white men that has been known in the world for more than 400 years is the slavery of Belgian workers carried off into Germany. We have heard a good deal about how Belgian men are ordered to leave their homes at a few hours' notice to be put at enforced tasks under the Kaiser, and how men have been taken without notice or record, leaving their homes in the morning and never returning, their families ignorant of their whereabouts, or whether they are alive or dead.

The black slaves of the South were valuable personal property. Their masters owned them like domestic animals and their money value encouraged some decency in treatment. If a negro slave was overworked or underfed or mistreated he got sick, or died, and there was a serious money loss. Because he



was a machine that his owner had purchased it was even worth while to look out for his happiness, which meant a maximum of work.

But the white slaves of Belgium belong to nobody, not even themselves. Like fish in the sea they are to be taken wherever they can be caught. If they sicken or die, there is a gain to the German government, not a loss, for it is a distinct part of German state policy that this people shall be eliminated so that when the time comes to possess Belgium in fulfillment of the German state's hopes, there will be no problem of Belgium population to complicate Germanization.

This is the power that we are fighting. This is a danger that we must not ignore, or underestimate. If the Germans ever get the whip hand over the workers of America, what is good state policy in Belgium will be good state policy here. This is why we are asked to co-operate in all war measures, especially in the everyday, universal and vitally necessary measures of sharing our food supply with the peoples upon whose victory we rely to keep the German state in Europe.

STRIKEBREAKERS RIOT.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—In a letter to the United Railroads, Chief of Police White charges employes of this corporation with a "deliberate and concerted effort to provoke acts of violence."

The United Railroads is attempting to break the strike of union car employes.

Attorney Sheehan, representing the company, told Police Judge Oppenheim, in open court, that the company's strikebreakers would continue to carry clubs "upon the order of their superior officers."

The court refused to be bluffed and notified Sheehan that: "They will not continue to carry clubs. If they do they will be brought into this court and kept there. Those clubs in the hands of these men are deadly weapons and they are engaged in a dangerous business."

INJUNCTION "LOGIC."

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—Labor's opposition to the injunction process is forcing courts to test their logic in defense of this writ. Judge Martineau has made the latest contribution in his edict against the Cooks and Waiters' Union. He says:

"Picketing and placards is a form of intimidation and coercion, and the only purpose members of the union can have in picketing in this particular case is not to benefit themselves directly, but to injure the other man; to take from him the thing the public would naturally give him. The purpose of the placard is not to inform the customer that the place is unfair to union labor. It is to inform the customer that if he goes in, he will be recognized as unfair to union labor and there is the implication that when the union can, it will injure the customer for entering the place picketed."

WALL STREET AT OLD TRICKS.

NEW YORK, October.—The New York *World* says, in a leading editorial:

"Various reasons are given for the panic prices prevailing on the New York stock exchange, but whatever they may be, the fact remains that it is the one important institution in this country that is not standing squarely behind the United States in the war.

"We are snuffing out a few little seditious foreign-language newspapers whose evil influence as compared with that of the stock exchange amounts to nothing. That also may have to be suppressed."

WASHINGTON, October.—"The submarine operations of Wall street raiders are giving the Government more concern just now than the German submarines," says a special writer in a leading article published on the first page of the Washington *Post*.

LABOR LAWS WEATHER WAR STORM.

NEW YORK, September 2.—Protective standards for labor have been successfully upheld against attempts to suspend them during the war and substantial gains have been made in new legislation designed further to safeguard the nation's industrial army, according to a summary which, issued here today by the American Association for Labor Legislation, alludes to the labor laws which have been enacted during 1917 in Congress and in 44 of the states.

When the United States entered the war legal protection for workers was threatened by "an ill-advised rush for results." Dr. John B. Andrews, Secretary of the association, says in the summary, but leading civic and labor organizations co-operated successfully to maintain existing standards "in the interest both of maximum production and of human conservation."

"Efforts to set aside labor's hard-won standards on the mistaken plea of war necessity have been almost completely checked," Andrew asserts. "The year's grist of labor legislation shows progress, and indicates that protective laws for labor are regarded by legislators not as a matter of sentiment, but of sound economics."

The summary shows women's hours have been reduced in Nevada, Montana, Ohio, New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Delaware and Nevada. Under stress of war conditions, however, New Hampshire excepted from its women's hour law manufacturers of munitions and supplies for the Government during the war, and Oregon and California excluded from their eight-hour law those women engaged in the preparation of fruit, vegetables and fish. Wyoming was the only state in which hours for women were increased, the weekly maximum being extended from 56 to 60 hours.

Men's hours were reduced in two states, Kansas and Washington, where an eight-hour day was established in the mines.

One additional state, Arizona, established a minimum wage ($10 weekly for women in stores and factories), making 12 in all; and two states, Illinois and North Dakota, created commissions to investigate wages and other conditions affecting women in industry.

Workmen's compensation laws were enacted in five new states—Delaware, Idaho, New Mexico, South Dakota and Utah—making 40 states and territories which now have such laws in addition to the Government's legislation for its own 500,000 employes. Insurance for seamen on American vessels was authorized under the Federal Bureau of War Risk.

States which have strengthened their child labor laws, "mainly by raising age limits, extending existing restrictions to new employments or shortening hours," include Texas, Vermont, Kansas New Hampshire, New Jersey, Montana, Delaware and West Virginia.

"Universal health insurance" is described as the next big step in American labor legislation, and the summary says that in seven states official commissions are studying this problem—Massachusetts, California, Connecticut, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

Labor achieves benefits through new labor laws enacted in Wyoming, Utah, Vermont, Pennsylvania and New Jersey through creation of Industrial Commissions or Civil Service rules designed to enforce the legislation. The problem of unemployment is being attacked in South Dakota, New Hampshire, Oregon, Minnesota, Arizona and Nebraska, in some of these states with Federal co-operation. Legislation which labor regards as more favorable in connection with trade disputes has been adopted in Utah, Minnesota, Idaho and New Hampshire.

"Mistaken zeal" when the United States entered the war, the summary says, led to some state legislation "de-

Stampers, [illegible] Bread Trust and all non-union arms.

signed to break down labor standards." In this connection it is pointed out:

"Connecticut and New Hampshire gave their Governors power to suspend labor regulations on request of the Council of National Defense. Vermont also authorized similar action by the Commissioner of Industries with the consent of the Governor, and Massachusetts established a board of five members to grant suspensions in individual cases" after a hearing.

THE FOOD PLEDGE.

A Little Thing to Sign—A Big Thing to Keep.

To win the war, we need four things—Men, Money, Materials, Food.

Our nation, when mobilized, should have for each 100 persons of the population, 2 fighting men, 10 bond buyers, and 50 workers engaged on war equipment, from shells to ships, and steel to shoes, directly or indirectly.

In the big war task of saving part of this year's wheat, meat, fat and sugar to feed soldiers who are now fighting for us in France, and workers back in the French and British factories, we must mobilize, out of every 100 persons in the United States—100 persons.

Food saving is the most immediate service.

It is the only 100 per cent. war service, seeking to enlist everybody.

Men are being drafted for war, Money taxed, Materials commandeered, but there is no compulsion in Food.

This is a volunteer service.

You sign the food pledge, or not, as you please.

If you sign, it is wholly an affair of honor.

Somebody must watch you, of course, to see that you eat the wheatless meal every day, and the meatless meal, and clean up your plate, and go lightly on the butter, sugar and milk.

Somebody *is* appointed to watch you—Yourself!

The food pledge means more than food saving. It means national self-discipline, a new sense of national honor, efficiency and economy in matters about which we have been selfish, wasteful, provincial.

Long after the war has been won its good results will be evident in national character.

IF YOU WERE BOSS.

If you were the boss and a fellow like you
Came in and requested a raise,
If he did his work in the way that you do
Would you speak of his toiling in praise?
Would the way that you tackle your task every day,
Indifferent to profit or loss,
By another from you win an increase in pay
If you were the fellow that's boss.

If you were the chief and a vacancy came,
As vacancies frequently do,
Do you think that you'd hasten to fill up the same
With a youth that is very like you?
In his manner of working think you that you'd find
Any trait that would cause you to gloat?
Oh, if you were boss, are you sure you're the kind
Of a fellow that you would promote?

If you owned the business this morning instead
Of working for people who do,
Do you think you would trouble or bother your head
About a young fellow like you?
Take a look at yourself though it gives you a jar,
You may rally the next time you tire;
If you were the boss, would you say that you are
The kind of a fellow you'd hire?

HEADQUARTERS

Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51-52-53 Am. Nat'l Bank Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 10, 1917.

To the Officers and Members of Local Unions:

GREETING—As you will have seen by the Auditor's report, the ordinary income to the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is not supporting it. It is necessary then to supplement it by an Assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an Assessment of 25 cents per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect October 13, 1917, and be collectible on or before November 10, 1917.

Officers and members of Local Unions are kindly requested to give this their particular attention.

Fraternally yours,
A. MCANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 11.

HEADQUARTERS

Tobacco Workers' International Union,
Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Bldg.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Oct. 10, 1917.

To Members At Large of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

GREETING—I now inform you that owing to the exceptionally heavy demand for Sick Benefits and the high death rate, the Sick and Death Benefit Fund is now lower than it has been for a long time. It is therefore necessary to supplement the regular income by an Assessment.

In view of this, I herewith inform you that an Assessment of 25 cents per member has been levied for the Sick and Death Benefit Fund to take effect October 13, 1917, and be collectible on or before November 10, 1917.

Members At Large will forward same to the International Office as soon after this notice reaches them as possible, and

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

not later than the above mentioned date, the 10th day of November, 1917.

By order of the International Executive Board.

Fraternally yours,

A. McANDREW, *Int. Pres't.*

Assessment No. 11.

"LOYALTY" LEAGUE WANTS TO EXPLAIN.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15.—Representatives of the Bisbee (Ariz.) "Loyalty" League breezed into the office of the American Federation of Labor this week to "explain the necessity" for deporting 1,100 men from Bisbee to Columbus, N. M., on July 12 last.

The delegation wanted to see President Gompers, who was out of the city. The "patriots" then called on Secretary Frank Morrison.

When the visitors announced their mission, the trade unionist took the floor. He declared that no law-abiding citizen would accept any excuse for this outrage; that the American Federation of Labor was not in sympathy with the I. W. W., but that the violation of constitutional guarantees and the unheard-of procedure in Bisbee was a shock to every believer in law and regularity. This, declared Morrison, was a principle separate and apart from the I. W. W. excuse of the "Loyalty" League, for its drastic and illegal action, which denied men the law's protection, and which, together with anti-union employers, make the I. W. W. possible.

The visitors quickly departed from this unsympathetic atmosphere and headed for the war department, where they are trying to interest government officials in maintaining top prices for copper.

PHOENIX, ARIZ., Sept. 15.—Attorney General Jones is called upon by Melville E. Stone, general manager of the Associated Press, to take action in the case of the Phelps-Dodge copper corporation taking charge of the telegraph offices at Douglas and Bisbee, this State, when 1,100 miners were deported, last July, and stopping telegrams.

"Wall street is indulging in as depraved a campaign of duplicity and savagery as Captain Kidd or Captain Boy-Ed could have devised.

"If the liberty loan should fail, it will be due to the conspirators, outwardly respectable and otherwise, who operate in and from Wall street. These men find it impossible to resist the temptation to obtain revenge for the tax legislation and at the same time rake in a few millions from the public by depreciating standard securities and then buying them in.

"The public, having been robbed in this fashion, cannot buy liberty bonds as freely as it would like to do."

NEW INCOME TAX LAW INCLUDES WORKERS.

WASHINGTON, October.—The war revenue law, passed by the last Congress, provides that unmarried workers whose wage is $1,000 a year, or $19.24 a week, must pay to the Government 2 per cent. This legislation was approved October 3. Under it Congress broadened the scope of the Federal income tax and made it applicable to very many people who up to this time have not been subject to the tax. The law provides that every unmarried individual whose net income from all sources for 1917 amounts to $1,000 or more, and every married individual whose net income amounts to $2,000 or more must file a return not later than March 1, 1918.

Parents are entitled to an additional exemption of $200 for each child dependent upon them. The tax is at different rates beginning with 2 per cent. on the income between $1,000 and $3,000 in the case of unmarried individuals, and between $2,000 and $4,000, in the case of married individuals and heads of fam-

ilies, with the allowance mentioned for dependent children.'

To realize how many people are affected by the new law, it must be remembered that $1,000 a year is less than $20 a week and that every unmarried person who receives during 1917 a net income amounting to $19.24 a week or more from all sources will be required to make a return after the end of the present year and before March 1, 1918. Married persons or heads of families whose net income from all sources during the year 1917 amounts to $39 a week or more are required to make such return.

It is estimated that this new tax will reach between five and six million persons. The former income tax affected between thirty and forty thousand. Under the old law married men receiving less than $4,000 and single men receiving less than $3,000 escaped assessment.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased our Supreme Ruler, who knoweth all things best and doeth all things well, to remove from our midst our Sister member, Aletha Howes. We mourn her loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Local No. 124, extend our deepest and sincere regret to the family, not to mention our own, for the loss of our Sister member, Aletha Howes; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family, a copy sent to the International Headquarters for publication in our monthly journal, and a copy be spread upon the minutes of our next meeting, and that our charter of Local No 124 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

CLAUDE B. CAMPBELL, President.
IRVIN SMITH, Secretary.
Local No. 124

COURT JAILS UNIONISTS.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Edward Kosten, state representative of the Iron Molders' Union, has been jailed for 30 days by Injunction Judge Weimer, who issued an order against striking molders picketing "on any street running to or from the foundry."

As every street in Kalamazoo comes under this list, the court was in an admirable position to deny the workers their constitutional rights while claiming they were in "contempt" of court.

Judge Weimer sentenced eight other iron molders to jail for the same reason.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.—Federal Judge Sater has enjoined Iron Molders' Union No. 68 of Hamilton, Ohio, at the request of the Niles Tool Works Company, located in that city. The iron molders have been on strike against this concern for several months.

CAN CHECK DIPHTHERIA.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Director Krusen, of the municipal department of health and charities, says diphtheria is one of the few diseases for which the medical profession has a positive cure. He says the records of his department show that every case of diphtheria which was treated with antitoxin during the first 24 hours of the disease was cured. To assure results the family physician must be called in promptly to administer the curative.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS
to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Made (REGISTERED) LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Gompers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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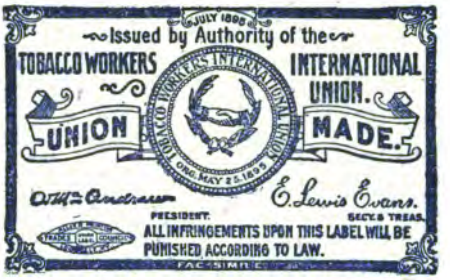

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JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

The
UNION LABEL
induced a trial
MERIT made it
A SUCCESS
We make many other Brands
equally GOOD
Ask for Samples

President Gompers.

Bread Trust and all non-union items.

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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 NOVEMBER, 1917 No. 11

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Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

TRUE UNIONISM.

In Union There Is Strength!

[The following is a clipping from the *International Musician,* and very aptly fits more than the members of the Musicians' Union. It is worth reading; it is thought-making to the one who is open to proper thoughts on the ethics of Unionism; It is commended to our readers' careful reading and digestion.—ED.]

A beautiful apothegm isn't it? But how many of our good brothers, loyal and true, really practice unionism in its true form? How many of us, aside from "getting the price" and "staying within the law," ever give the subject a thought? A pitiful minority. If there is to be strength in unions there must first be unity. There must be co-operation, not only in our own body, but among all bodies of Locals. This is true unionism! The kind of unionism that shall command the respect of capital. Capital is combining and capital will stick! And it's up to us to do the same.

For example: How many of our members are wearing union-made wearing apparel, smoking union-made tobacco, eating union-made baked goods, etc? Still and all it is by asking for and demanding union-made articles that we co-operate with our brothers and advance the cause in general.

Pause and reflect. Do you realize what a tremendous power for good labor could wield did it but lay aside its personalities on election day and vote a straight ticket in support of a candidate who would give us a square deal after taking office? Think it over. Think of the patronage which would be ours—not to appease us, but because we demanded it by right of power which lies in true brotherhood.

No capitalist or boss likes unions. But they respect them. Why? Because, as far-seeing, deep-thinking men they realize that in combating us they are fighting the people. And after all is said and done it is the people who hold the final trump when it comes time to take the trick. One need but to look to Russia for the proof.

I have found the greatest enemy of true unionism to be class distinction. There are some of our own brothers, talented artists holding first chairs in well-paying organizations, who would hesitate to take the soiled hand of the driver of a coal cart and call him brother. Heaven forbid! What of our perfectly manicured fingers! Yet these same men may be the means of winning a fight at some future date when we clash with the managers. Amusement places might operate without music but they'll not get very far without heat. Think it over my un-democratic brothers.

Then, too, let us take a close approaching issue of our own. What if the managers organize and stick to fight us. It is

likely to develop into a long, hard fight, but we shall win. But how will we win? Through the families of good union men staying away from the theatres. It has been said and proven that corporations are soulless; but as hard as are their hearts they possess a vulnerable spot so tender that the slightest touch sends a thrill of pain throughout their entire systems. And that spot is their pocket books. A theatrical manager's tender spot is his box office. And that is the spot that unionism will hit and hit hard.

Now, if we, as true union men, expect the co-operation of our brother union men does it not behoove us to offer the same support in return? I heard one "good" union man of Socialistic tendencies declare that he was union from his hat to his shoes—but he chewed non-union tobacco because he couldn't find a union-made tobacco to suit his taste; that the trusts controlled all the good tobacco in the world. Isn't it a joke? I asked the brother if he had sampled the entire output of union factories and he confessed that he had not, as he was satisfied with the kind he is using. Is that true unionism? It is not! And so long as union men are lax in such things so long will it be a hard fight to gain recognition that should be ours without the asking.

Now, brothers, why can't we inject a little of the true fraternal feeling in our organization? Why can't we borrow some of the feeling that exists among members of our great fraternal societies?

As a suggestion, would it not be a good idea to make it a rule in all unions to fine members found patronizing unfair labor? One dollar for the first offense, five for the second, etc. I believe there are unions that have such a rule and it works out very well indeed. But why not make it national? If such a rule were in effect it would be a short time before our enemies would feel our power in a manner that would make them sit up and take notice. Again the vulnerable spot—the pocketbook. And is this not an opportune time to make such a law?

Then, when we are secure in our strength—even stronger than we now are—we must be careful not to lose sight of the fact that our employers have invested their money in more or less of a gamble to provide us with that employment. Live and let live, but with a more equal division of the profits.

In the American Federation of Labor we have some great men with big brains and keen perspectives. Men who will not abuse the power we divest in them. But these great men are working under a severe handicap until such a time when we, as individuals, through our co-operation, make our power felt. Then, and not until then, shall unionism come into its own.

In writing this article I've not striven for elegance but have tried to place my points before you in a homely, concise manner, in the hope that it may cause you to think. If I have failed to make myself clear through lack of forcible style then my efforts but represent, "love's labor lost." At any rate I've done my best and beg your indulgence.

A LOYAL UNION MAN.

SEES PERIL TO GIRLS.

PITTSBURGH, PA., Nov. 3.—America's girls who go into munitions factories and mills to take the places of men gone to war are sacrificing their beauty, laying themselves liable to physical and moral hazards and are endangering their chances of ever becoming wives and mothers, Miss Mabel Cratty, of New York, told delegates to the war work council of the Young Women's Christian Association.

The speaker said that "a woman disfigured is a woman lost," meaning, she said, that when a man marries he wants a girl with both hands, whole fingers and not hardened by daily toil in a mill.

ILLINOIS RACE RIOTS BLAMED ON EMPLOYERS.

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL., Nov. 3.—Will the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt charge the Federation of Catholic Societies with "offering an apology for the murder of the helpless?"

This was his indictment of Samuel Gompers, when the president of the A. F. of L. said, in a New York speech, that the East St. Louis riots were caused by "the importation of cheap negro labor to compete with white labor."

This latter view has been endorsed by the Federation of Catholic Societies at its convention of 400 delegates, who adopted this sizzling declaration:

"The prosecution and punishment of the rioters is the treatment merely of the ulcer, not of the disease; of the prosecution and punishment of those who are less guilty than those who are responsible for the wholesale importation of the negro.

"The immediate and prime cause of these riots we charge against the conscienceless and soulless corporations of East St. Louis who encouraged the wholesale importation of negro labor for the nefarious purpose of replacing white labor and who thereby caused a sudden, violent, unjust and oppressive change in the economic position of the white population of East St. Louis.

"We charge that there is sufficient evidence to prove that certain industries in the city seeking to frustrate every legitimate effort of laboring men to organize for their own protection; that men have been discharged and blacklisted for no other reason than that they asserted their right to unionize. We charge that the importation of the negro was intended primarily to combat labor organizations, and to reduce men to unorganized helplessness, and to the acceptance of starvation wages. We charge that the cotton fields of the South were leased by Northern capital, which let them lie fallow, and thereby forced unemployment on the negro and his migration northward, where he was used in the nefarious plot of replacing the white man.

"We therefore condemn capitalistic industries of the city as the prime and immediate cause of these riots."

UNIONISTS CAN REFUSE NON-UNION SHOP WORK.

OMAHA, Nov. 3.—Judge Leslie, of the district court of this county, has smashed State Attorney General Reed's plan to "settle" labor disputes by the injunction process.

Last spring members of the Business Men's Association locked out several organized crafts and later refused to assist the State in mediating the disputes. In its report to the governor the State Board of Mediation blamed employers for the turmoil.

Attorney General Reed started injunction proceedings against both employer and employed and filed suit under a State law which prohibits combinations in restraint of trade. He charged unionists and employers with a conspiracy in violation of the act.

Judge Leslie ruled:

"There can be no question that the unions have the right to organize, or combine, for their protection and welfare. And their right to do things in furtherance of their aims, so far as they do not interfere with the rights of others, is clear. They may approach their employers with a request to employ only union men; they may approach non-union men with requests to join the union or to quit work.

"Unions not directly involved in a strike may decline, if they so desire, to work on jobs held by them to be 'unfair,' and may approach non-union men with a request to leave the work or to join the union, so long as they use no violence,

make no threats nor employ intimidation."

The right of employers to protect their rights is equally strongly put in the decision, with the clear statement that a "lockout," calculated to harm men not involved in strikes or tending to force outside and disinterested persons to side with them against the unions, is conspiracy in restraint of trade.

FEDERAL MEDIATORS END COPPER STRIKE.

GLOBE, ARIZ., Nov. 3.—The president's special labor commission has adjusted the Globe-Miami copper strike, which started last July. The settlement includes the establishment of a workers' committee for each mine, wholly independent of any influence exercised by the operators. The committee is to be composed exclusively of men working at each mine with the right of union members to have a union representative in the presentation of grievances. In the event that this machinery fails to adjust differences, a United States arbitrator, acceptable to both parties, will determine any disputed questions. The settlement also includes the employment of all strikers, except those guilty of seditious utterances against the United States and those who are members of any organization that does not recognize the obligation of a contract. In providing for re-employment an important principle as introduced, in that the district is treated as an industrial unit instead of the individual mine. Re-employment is to be secured through a central employment committee for the district.

While there were no deportations of workers in connection with this strike, every officer but one of the Globe Miners' Union was arrested on the charge of "rioting," because they were picketing on a public road. To date the operators have failed to secure a conviction, and the cases will probably be dropped.

The commission has left for Clifton, this State, to adjust the copper strike in that district. The trade unionists on this commission are John H. Walker, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and E. P. Marsh, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

ARBITRARY MILL OWNERS.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., Nov. 3.—*The Citizen*, official paper of the local trade union movement, calls attention of daily newspapers to the fact that 600 Los Angeles organized mill workers are on strike and that their employers have rejected recommendations by Federal and State mediators.

The Citizen asks what would happen if the mill workers took this position. Also, would the local Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association pass resolutions?

The Federal mediator recommended a 12½ per cent. wage increase and the gradual introduction of the eight-hour day.

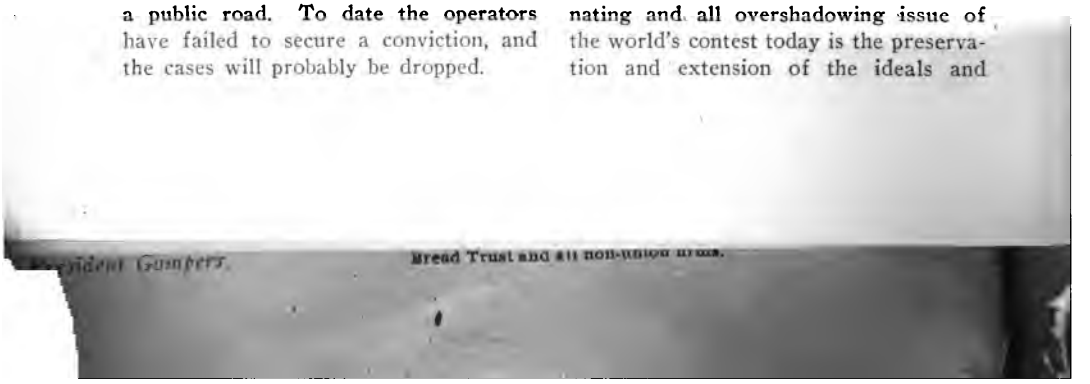
The Mill Owners' Association replied that it "has no power to act as a body" on this matter.

"But it is quite apparent the association," says *The Citizen*, "has authority to act as a body to prevent the payment of living wages, to hold on to the nine-hour day and to perpetuate the miserable working conditions prevailing in Los Angeles."

WAR BRINGS NEW ISSUE

JOLIET, ILL., Nov. 3.—In what was probably the largest convention of a State Federation of Labor ever held, the 800 delegates to the Illinois Federation of Labor convention made this declaration relative to the war:

"Whatever may have been the original cause or causes to disturb the tranquility of the nations of the world, the predominating and all overshadowing issue of the world's contest today is the preservation and extension of the ideals and



principles of democracy the world over. While it is true that there are some financial, commercial and industrial groups who are insincere in their patriotic protestations of democracy it is equally true that the ideals of democracy proclaimed the world over, have developed a new national concept which will become firmly established in the minds of men and as action follows thought, so this new concept of democracy will grow and grow until no power or force can prevent its full realization in all our human relations, political, financial, commercial, and industrial, the world over.

"The workers of America are loyal and patriotic. The labor movement recognizes that our people must uphold the honor and dignity of our government among the nations of the world and that in so doing, it must likewise safeguard and uphold the rights and general welfare of the workers of our country."

UNIONIZATION IS REMEDY.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 3.—In reviewing recent progress in the organization of State institution employes, the State Hospital Employes' Union says:

"The employes of the State institutions have become greatly dissatisfied with the existing working conditions, principally the long hours and small amount of time off duty, and they have found that these conditions can only be improved through organization, as every attempt so far made to remedy these conditions has been unsuccessful.

"It will be a matter of only a very short time when all the State institution employes will have formed unions, as they now realize that conditions can only be improved through organization and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the California State Federation of Labor and the various central labor councils of the State.

"As all improvements in the working conditions of these employes must be secured by the order of the board of control or by action of the State legislature, they will never engage in strikes or walkouts and they do not compose militant organizations."

NO UNIONISM FOR JOHN D.

NEW YORK, Nov. 3.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr., hastens to correct the story that he has been negotiating with officers of the United Mine Workers to unionize the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company.

In a letter to J. F. Welborn of the company, Mr. Rockefeller says he is "greatly interested in the welfare of the company and its employes," but—

"I shall not at any time undertake to carry on negotiations of any kind affecting the interests of the corporation."

Miners employed by the Rockefeller concern have shown their distrust of the Rockefeller "union" by joining the United Mine Workers. These workers say other men have made declarations similar to John D.'s, but later changed their minds.

There are many "isms" advanced for the solution of the labor problem, the appellations of which, if not the substance, are familiar to all localities, excepting perhaps, along the outskirts of civilization and within the counting rooms of some large and very influential newspapers. When the advocates of each are inspired by the same noble purpose—the abolition of poverty, its criminal sequences, and the substitution of liberty, happiness, prosperity and health—yet there is no practical unanimity, no "get-togetherism" discernible from out the economic chaos. In fact, if the truth must be admitted, paradoxical as it may appear, each school looks upon the other as an enemy. While the end sought is the same, the means used and the principles are widely divergent.

One advocates the Karl Marxian idea—direction, control, an elaborate extension of state functions; another the Jeffersonian—less government, but yet government; while another, the followers of

Proudhon and Josiah Warren, believes purely and simply in the sovereignty of the individual, unfettered by statutes or judicial coercion. And each has its subordinate coterie of unconscious supporters—of owners of telegraph and railroads, municipalization, minor legislative measures, freedom of land, etc. The discussion, so far as adherents count, proportionately, is yet in its infancy, and the outcome, which evidently will be decided by the relative number, the ascendency of one of these particular schools, is not as yet even dimly foreseen in the distance.

Now, none of us know it all! We live in an age of doubt, uncertainty and inquiry, and while our great minds wrestle with the economic elephant, while this lack of harmony exists and we await the questionable outcome, is there any one practical means of mutual self-protection upon which the workers can unite?

This question is answered in the union label.

It is not a cure-all. It was not discovered by any profound thinker of ancient or modern times—in fact, its author is unknown. But we do know it originated in the fertile brain of some live trade unionist. Some unselfish and thoughtful individual, who, perhaps, while you and I were sporting, was harassing his overworked brain to benefit his fellowman.

Here are some of its advantages:

It rests on no long-spun theory; it is simple; it is practical, and it has no enemies.

It can be adopted by all avocations, the skilled and unskilled alike.

The printer can use it on his printing.

The cigarmaker can use it on his box.

The hatter underneath his hat band.

The tailor on his vest strap.

The shoemaker on his shoe.

The barber in his window.

The blacksmith on his horseshoe.

The molder on his stoves and hollowware.

The cooper on his barrels.

The baker on his loaves.

The wagonmaker on his carriage.

The fisherman on his can.

The Tobacco Worker on his plug or package.

Each can demand the union product of all.

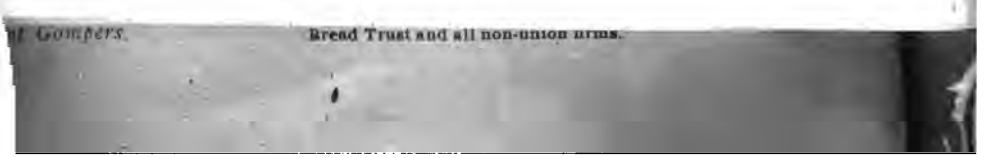
The product of the union mule-spinner from the mammoth dry goods houses; linen and underwear from the haberdasher—all to be passed over the counter by union clerks with the union button in their coat lapels.

Demand it.

SUPPORT 8-HOUR DAY FOR STEEL WORKERS.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 27.—The eight-hour day for steel workers is supported by the *Public Ledger*, in a leading editorial this paper says scientific knowledge overrules those employers who declare that an eight-hour day is impossible in this industry, and quotes Prof. Frederick S. Lee, in *Science*, issue of November 26, 1916:

"Augmentation of output occurs, not only with a reduction to ten, but even to eight hours. Instances of this are numerous. Thus, the very careful study by Professor Abbe, of the effects of reducing the working day in the Zeiss optical works, in Jena, from nine to eight hours, shows an average increase of about 3 per cent. in the daily output of the employes. A certain steel works in England reports that each of its machines turns out in eight hours the same amount of work formerly produced in nine hours. In the steel, sheet and tin plate trades of South Wales it is said that after the change from 12 to the eight-hour day the increase of output in the rolling mills amounted to 20 and in the open hearth melting process to 12½ per cent. In the year following the introduction of the eight-hour day into some of the coal mines of South Yorkshire it was reported that the production was 'greatly in excess



of what was ever produced by an equal number of men when the men worked twelve or thirteen hours.'"

The *Public Ledger* is aware that labor will not rest until it secures the shorter work day. It says:

Since the middle of the nineteenth century the workers have been demanding it. The numerous strikes in the major industries might be easily composed if this cardinal demand were met. It is far better that the steel companies accept the principles of it, and that they aid the government in every possible way to bring about an orderly readjustment of their schedules to conform with eight-hour requirements. There will be annoyance and confusion. That must be put up with. Dissatisfied labor is capable of infinitely more mischief than such a reformation of workday schedules, and once effected, the reformation will not, as a whole, restrict output.

SOCIAL INSURANCE NOT COMPENSATION.

CINCINNATI, Oct. 27.—The claim that there is no difference in the theories of workmen's compensation and compulsory State social insurance is denied by John P. Frey, editor of the *International Molders' Journal.*

"There is no analogy whatever," he writes, "between the compulsion of a workman's compensation act, which is an overhead charge on an industry, and the workers' compulsory membership in a State sick insurance society, for the one is a charge transferred to the worker's product, and the other is a mandatory command by the State to those whom the State designates as wage-earners.

"A wave favoring compulsory legislation for this and that condition, which some one expects will benefit the people, is spreading over the country.

"An increasing number of Americans, seemingly unacquainted with the fundamental principles of democracy in human rights and liberties, upon which our institutions are founded, are demanding compulsory this, and compulsory that, for all of the social ills, imaginary and otherwise.

"With more democracy and more freedom of action on the part of those who are exploited under the present industrial system, there would be less opportunity for the social doctors who desire to have the government force their cure-all upon the wage earners.

"There are quite a few well-meaning individuals, some of them occupying prominent executive positions in the industries, who believe that wage earners should be happy and who, from the profound reservoirs of their knowledge of happiness determine just what kind of pleasure and happiness will do the workers the most good, after which they proceed to force their kind of happiness upon the worker, whether he wants it or not."

PRESIDENT WILSON ON LABOR.

If there is not a right on the part of the workingman to organize, then there ought not to be a right on the part of capital to organize. It is the organization that makes capital strong, and it is not fair, from the legal point of view, to prevent the rest of the men dealing with capital from getting strength with organization that only organization brings.

I am for the laboring man. Justice must be done him or there can be no justice in this country. We must all be partners in the game of government and no one man must be allowed to play the part of a hog.

The attitude of government toward labor lies at the heart of almost everything that concerns us as a nation. A nation may be said to consist of those who do its daily labor, and America has always boasted that she was the home of free labor, that all were welcome to come to her shores and partake of her unbounded opportunities.

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SEE THAT THIS LABEL

is on all Tobaccos you buy, whether PLUG, PACKAGE or TWIST. None genuinely Union without it.

Editorial.

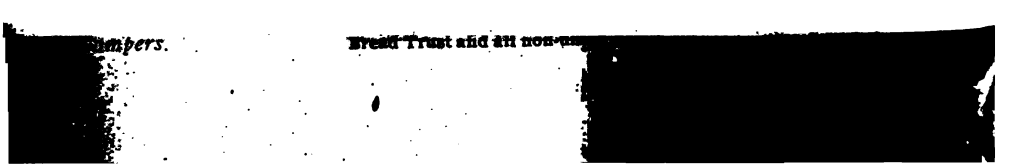
Did it ever occur to you that there is a difference in the meaning of the words "the" and "our" when preceding the word "Union?" Too many of us look upon "our" Union as an inanimate thing that should run itself, and speak of it as "The Union," as though it was a commonplace institution, such as an auto truck might be, instead of using the co-operative term, "Our Union," an institution that is throbbing and pulsating, freighted with the most vital interests of human life. Analyze the term and remember the analysis.

When a Labor Convention comes along, manufacturers or employers are told that for a consideration they will be sent the secret proceedings of a most dangerous Union daily. The employer falls for this bunk, when he might know, were his ignorance not so dense, that the copies he receives are secured without cost from the floor of the convention,, and he is being grafted to the tune of so much.

Organized Labor is not a secret institution. It does its work in the open with the light of day shining all over it, and no magnifying glasses are needed to read its acts.

Despite all this watchful waiting, spying and persecution, the Trade Unions are growing, simply because they are open in their work, and their cause is a righteous one.

In replying to letters sent to them by Local Unions and Central Bodies, who have written relative to their attitude recently assumed towards the Tobacco Workers' Union, the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company, of Louisville, is stating that the Tobacco Workers broke their agreement in going out on strike, while an agreement was still in force. It is said that all is fair in love and war. The Ryan-Hampton started a small war with the Tobacco Workers, and they no doubt feel that any means employed justifies the end. The facts of the case are, that the manager of the Ryan-Hampton Company offered the men a price on a new style and weight piece of twist which was 40% less than the men asked for it after the samples were made. This was refused by the men, and when the manager found that the men would not accept it, he made a second offer, increasing his price 15c per hundred. This price was still 13⅓ cents per hundred less than the price fixed by agreement for the new style goods after the samples had been made. The men refused this offer also, as it was a reduction still of 20%. The



manager then told the men that if they would not take that price they could quit; the men thereupon put on their coats and left the shop as ordered.

After the case had reached this point, Mr. Massey saw his mistake in, that his ordering the men to quit he had locked the men out, which is a violation of the agreement. He then tried to turn the scale against the men by denying that he ordered the men to quit by stating that the men quit and broke their agreement, and when his statement to the contrary was challenged, he politely called the man who challenged the statement a liar, and in the presence of others who can verify the fact.

When the goods began to appear on the market without the label, inquiry naturally was made. The suspicion arose in the minds of the consumer that something was wrong, and writing to find out, the manager, of course, to save his own skin, spins the yarn that suits his attitude on the question. The truth will be told, however, and there are sources from which it can and will come.

Mr. Massey stated, in one of the conferences, that the label did him no good. He will now have a chance to test the matter out. The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof, and not in the chewing of string.

There is in the minds of many, the unspoken, and in fact, in undeveloped embryo form, germs of opposition to the Trade Union Movement, that are now being awakened to life through the entrance of the United States into this European conflict; and, on the other hand, our entrance has awakened in many a latent spirit dictating the very opposite; that is, they are awakening to the realization that the Trade Union Movement is one of the, if not the, greatest exponent, and advocates the fundamental principles of a democracy, in fact, spelled with a big "D."

There recently came to our desk a report from Bridgeport, Connecticut, of a man by the name of Stanley, who has besmirched such a good name, who holds the public office of President of the Board of Police Commissioners, who has attempted to suspend the constitutional rights of free speech, and public assembly, of people of his State, and to prohibit the circulation of trade union journals and literature, a raw, green-hided attempt to Russianize or Prussianize American citizens. These attempts on the part of a public official aroused the ire of the editor of the Bridgeport *Farmer*, that had demanded that that public official resign forthwith.

If there is one thing more likely than another to bring about a revolution of feeling, it is the unlawful suspension of constitutional rights.

If some of the faddists, who constituted themselves as the advisers of the workers on the subject of how to live and save money on meager wages that they receive, would take a little of their own medicine, they would see down the shaft darkly. It is so easy to sit on the pedestal of affluent comfort and tell the other fellow what he should do; the chances are the instructed, or advised, knows more how to stretch a dollar than the instructor could stretch two or three. The trouble is, when they look at the workers' end of the game, they look through the reverse or large end of the telescope and perspective narrows down, but when they are looking at their own end of the game, by accident or design, they pick up and use the telescope with the small end toward them.

It seems to be a disease with which some of our faddists are afflicted, to want to tell the poor what they ought to do. It reminds one of a case of the student assuming the role of Professor, and telling the Professor how he should address himself to an important subject. It is only by a charity born of respect for the ignorant that these nuisances are

tolerated. There ought to be a place for keeping such imbeciles until they know what they are talking about.

Some time ago the rabid Anti-Unionist employers organized an institution, the title of which is, The American Employers' Association, Incorporated, the preamble of which, of course, was intended only for the eyes of the Bosses, but like bad deeds coming out, this thing saw the light of day. The prime object of this institution is to fight Organized Labor, or anything else, for that matter, that has temerity to assert any rights which they may have, or offer any interference with Mr. Employer's prescribed program of self-appointed right-of-way over anything that will militate against his individual success. This applies, of course, to the rabid Antis; we are indeed pleased to say that they are a minority in number when the whole is compared.

The first line in the offensive program is to oppose all organized effort on the part of Labor. One part of this offensive is to get their representatives firmly installed in the various trade unions, and as often as possible, without exciting comment, to get into office—that of Secretary or Treasurer—and report regularly from the innermost recesses of the union all intentions where opposition may develop; and when no trouble is on tap, to see that something is started, so that the mental attitude of the membership may be sounded. These spies must never be quiet; they must have a brew brewing at all times. The next line of offensive is, that of having State and large center organizers with a goodly supply of sub-organizers, whose sole business is to hamstring, halt, and oppose all efforts of Labor to organize or in any way protect itself against predatory wealth.

This institution has a legal department which shall furnish services wherever wanted by any member of the corporation, and, under cover, investigate any strikes or other efforts of Labor for its self-advancement, and work up cases against Organized Labor where it may be thought an infraction of somehow may have occurred. The local office of each branch of this estimable institution is to have a card index record of all employes of each employer affiliated with the local branch, these in turn are copied and sent to the headquarters of every other branch for reference. Should an employe leave one place and go to another, he will find his record ahead of him and "no job" is the word when he applies.

This institution will take up the fight for the unorganized as against the organized movement wherever opportunity presents itself, and further discrimination against the organized, sow dissension whenever possible, and to further persecution and prosecution by fines, or other monetary loss. Persecution within the organized movement and securing of heavy fines of some one who is too strong for open attack; in fact, anything that will cause a disintegration or destruction of a Union is assigned as a purpose to an end—"destruction."

What a beautiful program for a business man to subscribe to; the one who does it must surely have a soul and a heart as big as a boiled fish egg and about as fertile and ambitious.

At the recent convention of the Bakers, held in Boston, the Label Committee, of which Brother Kerker was chairman, made some telling strokes for the greater use of the union label by their members. Resolution No. 68 was one relating to the interests of the Tobacco Workers' International Union and was reported upon as follows:

Resolution No. 68, in the interest of the Tobacco Workers' International Union seeking moral support, and which was before the last convention and did not materialize, your Committee feels that while we have no right as a Label Committee to change our Constitution, we do

recommend that this Convention goes on record to add to the reading of our pledge when members are initiated the following:

"I further promise hereafter to have on my wearing apparel not less than six bona fide Union Labels, to smoke only cigarettes, tobaccos, and cigars bearing the Blue Label; that I shall recognize no printing unless it bears the Allied Printing Trades Label, enter no cafe, hotel, restaurant or barber shop where the union sign or buttons are not seen."

Brother Kerker moves for adoption of the committee's report. Motion seconded.

Matter discussed by Sister Ostino, 125-Aux., Brothers Goelz, Local 1; Lowderback, Local 26; Martin, Local 24; Weth, 2; Jacobs, 7; Juchnowski, Local 16; Hickey, Local 30; Cuffe, 182; Bolton, 9; Ollinger, 213; Musser, Local 2-Aux.

Brother Lowderback, Local 26, offers the following amendment to the motion: "I furthermore promise that I will at all times spend my money for nothing but bona fide union labeled goods and patronize only such houses as display union cards and buttons."

Brother Kerker states that the committee has no objection to embodying the amendment in their recommendation and the motion as amended is carried.

Bro. Kerker resumes reading as follows:

We also further recommend that the officer's pledge be changed to a like proposition, and the pledge of delegates coming to our future Conventions, that they shall not qualify to a seat in the convention unless they can show six different labels on their wearing apparel. Your Committee recommends this portion of the report to the Constitution Committee.

Motion seconded.

If such a spirit as this were to become as prevalent as it should among all the unions throughout the jurisdiction of the labor movement, there would be little necessity for the appeals for the proper use of the purchasing power of organized labor that have become so frequent in the label trades affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and how different things would be. The union label could be made the most effective organizer that could be devised, and with half the cost to our unions.

We tender the Bakers a vote of thanks for the strong attitude they took in the premises, and entertain the hope that other unions may take the same position.

COURT WOULD STOP STRIKE.

ATLANTA, GA., Oct. 13.—Next month the State Supreme Court will hear arguments for the dissolution of a permanent injunction issued by the Superior Court of Decatur County, this State, against officers of the four railroad brotherhoods who have been debarred from talking or assisting in any way employes of the Georgia, Florida and Alabama Railroad, who attempted, last summer, to secure the reinstatement of a discharged engineer and to revise schedules in conformity with the Adamson eight-hour law.

The dispute is now in the hands of the Federal Board of Mediation, which was first rejected by the company. When the workers arranged for a strike vote they were enjoined from taking such action, but the court agreed that the men could quit as individuals. The workers acted accordingly.

When the court realized it was defeated in its efforts to stop the strike, the men were enjoined from speaking to the present employes, former employes or with each other, and officers of the four brotherhoods were ordered not to render any financial assistance to the strikers. To make sure that the officers obeyed this order the court notified them to appear before him and present all checks and written evidence of moneys paid, with copies of all letters, telegrams and communications.

FOOD SOARS IN ONE YEAR.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13.—A pronounced reduction in the price of flour and potatoes resulted in a 4 per cent. reduction in food prices from June 15 to July 15, reports the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, but in the year from July 15, 1916, to July 15, 1917, food prices as a whole have advanced 32 per cent. Onions was the only article which was lower. Flour made the greatest jump—91 per cent. Potatoes were 83 per cent higher in July, 1917, than in the same month of the previous year. Corn meal was 81 per cent. higher, and beans 67 per cent. higher. Of the meats, pork advanced more than beef.

Comparing prices on July 15, 1914, just prior to the present war, with prices on July 15, 1917, food as a whole advanced 42 per cent. In July, 1917, flour was 125 per cent. higher—that is, two and one-fourth times the price in July, 1914. Corn meal was 89 per cent. higher, lard was 78 per cent. higher, sugar 75 per cent. higher and potatoes and bread each 59 per cent. higher.

WHAT KIND OF A UNION MAN ARE YOU?

This is the question which a great many of our members may be asked. Are you the kind of union man, who, when you have to ask for a few more men on an engagement, say to your client: "Well, I could get along with less men but the union forces me to get more. I think the law is a 'rotten' one but a bunch get in and pack the meetings and we 'good musicians' have nothing to say." Again, are you one of those who go to your manager and say: "The officers run the union and if we get up to speak at a meeting shout us down." If you are that kind of a union man you are in a bad way. You haven't got nerve enough to stand on your own bottom and the sooner you strive to acquire a little more backbone and a sprinkling of the old-fashioned, common, garden variety of "spunk" the better it will be for yourself, your organization and the music business generally. You are an integral part of your organization and you have your say in it as well as your neighbor.—*Labor Clarion.*

UNION MAXIMS.

The labor movement is a real "Bread and Butter" proposition, not alone for yourself, but for your children that may follow.

A man who is not loyal to his country, ten chances to one, is not loyal to his union. There is no room for him in the labor movement.

Let the world know you are a union man. How can you advertise unionism better than by demanding the union label? Demand the label and the merchants will have more regard and respect for you. Show your colors.

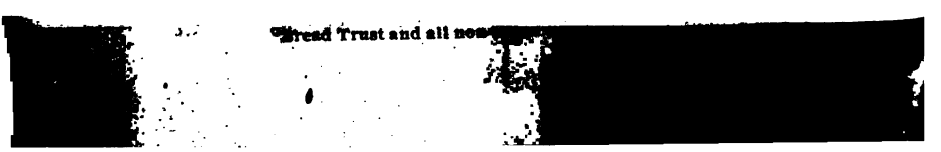
From news reports there are still plenty of "strikebreakers" in the country. Would you expect to find a man that will sell out his fellowmen a loyal subject of the country? He is not going to enlist for his country. They know no such thing as patriotism; they are traitors to all mankind.

GOMPERS OPPOSED TO CONSCRIPTION OF LABOR.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, said this week, "there will be no conscription of labor" for navy yards and munition plants.

"The men are all working. What more do you want? What more can there be?" he added. Gompers apparently regarded the idea of conscription as a reflection on the patriotism of American labor.

Other labor leaders were non-committal on the question, but their attitude was that of Gompers—"given the right conditions, labor will do all that is called for without conscription."



THE ORIGIN OF SHAKING HANDS.

Did you ever ask yourself why you shake hands with persons whom you know? Here is the reason, says *The Telegram:*

"In olden days, when every man who had any pretensions of being a gentleman carried a sword, it was the custom for men when they met, to show that they had no intention of treachery, to offer each other their weapon hands, or, in other words, the hand that would be used to draw the sword, and to hold back the hand was usually the signal for a fight.

"This habit became so fixed that long after men ceased to wear swords they still offered the weapon hand to a friend and declined to offer it to an enemy.

"To this day when you refuse to shake hands with a person it signifies that you are at war. Among savages who never carried swords, the practice of shaking hands is unknown and it affords them a great deal of amusement to see white men do it."

PLUCKY GIRLS RAISE WAGES.

SAPULPA, OKLA., Nov. 3.—Plucky telephone girls tied up the system of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company and forced that corporation to establish a minimum wage of $40 a month instead of $5.10 and $6 a week.

At a public meeting in the court house trade unionists and other citizens gave pledges that would guarantee the girls a weekly strike benefit and it was declared that no homes should be open to the strikebreakers. For a week Sapulpa was without telephone service and citizens drove five miles to secure long distance service.

GUARDS TERRORIZE STATE.

CHARLESTON, W. VA., Oct. 13.—Baldwin-Feltz detectives are being "planted" throughout this State by mine operators as part of their anti-union campaign. These thugs are appointed by sheriffs under the special police deputy law, passed by the last legislature, despite protests by organized labor. Several persons have been killed by these guards, and recently 60 of them stopped unionists, headed by Mother Jones, from holding an open meeting near Beckley. Striking miners have been evicted and where they have not moved fast enough the roofs of their cabins have been torn off, leaving women and children exposed to the elements. The reign of terror is forcing miners to leave the State, while the operators cry "labor shortage."

REZIN ORR PASSES AWAY.

DETROIT, MICH., Oct. 27.—Rezin Orr, the beloved and respected treasurer of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, died this week in a local hospital. He was taken sick at the recent Providence (R. I.) convention of the association. His report at that time closed the active life of a remarkable trade unionist, whose incessant activities, sterling qualities, giant stature and sunny disposition are known wherever organized workers are assembled. He was the oldest associate of President Mahon on the official staff of the Amalgamated Association. Starting from the time these officials drove horse cars in Ohio and Indiana, Rezin Orr has been a factor in developing the present magnificent organization of street railway employes that now extends throughout this country and Canada.

DUTY OF WORKERS.

We assert that it is the duty, as it is also the plain interest, of all working people to organize as such, meet in council and take practical steps to effect the unity of the working classes as an indispensable preliminary to any successful attempt to eliminate the evils of which we so bitterly and justly complain.—*Samuel Gompers.*

A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE IN YEAR 1895 IS KILLED.

GLOBE, ARIZ., Oct. 13.—John McBride, president of the A. F. of L. in 1895 and former president of the United Mine Workers, died here of injuries received when he was struck by a run-away horse. Deceased was 61 years old and at the time of his death was acting as a Federal Department of Labor mediator. He was an Ohio man and served as State Labor Commissioner there, and in the Ohio legislature. He has resided in Arizona for the past several years.

Deceased was elected president of the A. F. of L. at its Denver convention in 1894, and was the only person who ever broke Samuel Gompers' successive elections as president of that organization.

BRITISHER AIDS UNIONS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 3.—The Washington correspondent of the *North American*, published in this city, writes his paper that the commission from the council of the munitions ministry of Great Britain, now in this country, and headed by Sir Stevenson Kent, is indirectly aiding the cause of unionism by explaining in conferences with employers what has been done in England to improve the relations between employers and workers.

"Sir Kent," continues the correspondent, "is not advising employers what they should do in this country, but in telling them what the British government has done and what the employers and laborers of Great Britain have done, he is indirectly advocating the cause of unionism."

WORLD'S RAINIEST REGION.

The rainiest region in the world is the Khasia hills, 200 miles north of the Bay of Bengal, where the annual precipitation frequently exceeds 40 inches.

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.

TRADE UNIONS

Foster education and uproot ignorance.

Shorten hours and lengthen life.

Raise wages and lower usury.

Increase independence and decrease dependence.

Develop manhood and balk tyranny.

Establish fraternity and discourage selfishness.

Reduce prejudice and induce liberality.

Enlarge society and eliminate classes.

Create rights and abolish wrongs.

Lighten toil and brighten man.

Cheer the home and firsside.

MAKE THE WORLD BETTER.

All wage-workers should be union men. Their progress is limited only by them who hold aloof. Get together, agitate, educate and do.

Don't wait until tomorrow; tomorrow never comes.

Don't wait for someone else to start; start it yourself.

Don't hearken to the indifferent; wake them up.

Don't think it impossible; two million organized workers prove different.

Don't weaken; persistence wins.

FUR WORKERS WIN.

MONTREAL, CANADA, Nov. 3.—The two locals of fur workers have won a complete victory in their three-months' battle against a general lockout.

The employers are organized and last month they attempted to trick the strikers by offering to confer and promised that at this meeting the unions would be recognized. The workers were distrustful, but joined in the conference, only to discover that the employers insisted on non-union shops. Later the manufacturers made a genuine settlement, which includes union recognition, the 48-hour week and a 20 per cent. wage increase.

General President Miller of the International Fur Workers' Union assisted the strikers.

UKRAINIANS.

The Ukraine, once the first republic in eastern Europe, has been divided between her neighbors. Russia holds its largest part, with some 28,000,000 Ukrainians; the Russian nationalities call that country Malorosia or Little Russia, and the people Little Russians. Austro-Hungary holds a much smaller number, 3,500,000 in eastern Galicia, 400,000 in Bukowina and 500,000 in sub-Carpathian districts of Hungary.

SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS.

To attain excellence in society, an assemblage of qualifications is requisite; disciplined intellect, to think clearly, and to clothe thought with propriety and elegance; knowledge of human nature, to suit subject to character; true politeness, to prevent giving pain; a deep sense of morality, to preserve the dignity of speech, and a spirit of benevolence, to neutralize its asperities, and to sanctify its powers.—*Mrs. Sigourney.*

SHAM DEMOCRACY.

A country where two per cent. of the population owns 98 per cent. of its wealth, and where fifteen per cent. own 85 per cent. of all the land in the country, is a sham democracy. To make this a true democracy, the land must be restored to the people, and when it is, the just distribution of production will adjust itself.

THE BOY THAT WAS.

When the hair about the temples starts
to show signs of gray
And a fellow realizes that he's wander-
ing far away
From the pleasures of his boyhood and
his youth, and never more
Will know the joy of laughter as he did
in days of yore,
Oh, it's then he starts to thinking of a
stubby little lad,
With a face as brown as berries and a
soul supremely glad.

When a gray-haired dreamer wanders
down the lanes of memory,
And forgets the living present for the
time of "used-to-be";
He takes off his shoes and stockings, and
he throws his coat away,
And he's free from all restrictions, save
the rules of manly play.
He may be in tattered garments, but
bare-headed in the sun
He forgets his proud successes and the
riches he has won.

Oh, there's not a man that liveth but
would give his all to be
The stubby little fellow that in dream-
land he can see,
And the splendors that surround him
with the boyhood that has fled,
When the hair about his temples starts
to show Time's silver stain,
Then the richest man that's living yearns
to be a boy again.

Houston Post.

"Attacked and denounced as scarcely any other institution ever has been, the unions have thriven and grown in the face of opposition. This healthy vitality has been due to the fact that they were a genuine product of social needs—indispensable as a protest and a struggle against the abuses of industrial government, and inevitable as a consequence of that consciousness of strength inspired by the concentration of numbers under the new conditions of industry. They have been, as is now admitted by almost all candid minds, instruments of progress. Not to speak of the material advantages they have gained for workingmen, they have developed powerful sympathies among them, and taught them the lesson of self-sacrifice in the interest of their brethren, and, still more, of their successors. They have infused a new spirit of independence and self-respect. They have brought some of the best men to the front, and given them the ascendency due to their personal qualities and desirable in the interests of society."—*John K. Ingram, LL. D.*

PREDICT UNION GAINS.

ST. LOUIS, MO., Nov. 3.—William Marion Reedy, editor of *Reedy's Mirror*, notes the increasing friendliness of the government toward organized labor and makes this prediction: "We are on our way to a recognition of organized labor that makes the passage of the eight-hour law last year a mere trifle."

SHOE PLANT UNIONIZED.

ST. JOSEPH, MO., Nov. 3.—The Battreal Shoe Company has signed a union shop agreement with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The company has tired of dealing with a seceding organization, whose lack of standing in the world of labor has been discovered.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS
to purchase bread only which bears
THIS LABEL

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

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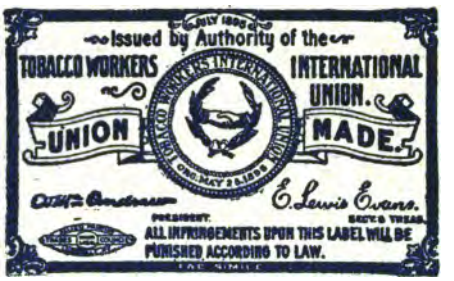
PUBLISHED MONTHLY

Volume 21 December, 1917 Number 12

The TOBACCO WORKER



Official Magazine

of the

Tobacco Workers' International Union

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JOBSON PRINTING COMPANY LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

STRONGHOLD

STRONG HOLD

PLUG TOBACCO

Scotten Dillon Company

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

LITTLE BLUE LABEL

The
UNION LABEL
induced a trial
MERIT made it
A SUCCESS
We make many other Brands
equally GOOD
Ask for Samples

dent Gompers.

Bread Trust and all non-union arms.

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THE TOBACCO WORKER

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

VOL. 21 DECEMBER, 1917 No. 12

The Tobacco Worker.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY
THE TOBACCO WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION

Entered at the Post Office at Louisville, Ky., as second class matter.

SUBSCRIPTION, FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR

Advertising rates made known upon application

The Tobacco Worker.

To Officers and Members of Local Union:

GREETING—I herewith submit my report as your delegate to the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, held in Buffalo, N. Y., November 8, 1917.

The Convention was called to order by John W. Hays, President of the Department, without any formalities. On the reading of the Credential Committee they reported that seventy-one delegates were entitled to be seated in the Convention.

Your delegate was appointed on the Committee on Rules of Order.

President Hays submitted a voluminous report, showing to the delegates the important work of the Department during the past year in the interest of labels, shop cards and buttons and the following extracts from the President's report are well worth reading:

"There is an old business axiom which says that a poor article well advertised will sell better than a good article that is given no publicity. From this we learn that no matter how good or valuable an article you may have it will receive no patronage unless properly advertised. This is as true of a union label, union shop card or button as it is of an article of merchandise. You may sit in this hall and talk to each other about the great benefits that may be derived from the use of your union's label, but unless you go out and let the general public know of its value it will have no value. To give value to union labels, shop cards or buttons continuous and persistent publicity must be carried on. You must constantly keep calling to the attention of the people who use the particular kind of goods you produce the advantage of purchasing only goods bearing the union label. You should at all times impress upon them that these goods are superior in quality and made under more sanitary conditions than those without the label. It is this persistent advertising of the label that counts and brings results in the shape of better conditions and increased pay. The same thing applies to the union shop card or union button. In an effective manner let the public know that the best mechanics' work and the best service is given where the shop card appears or the button is worn.

"Naturally the Union Label Trades Department cannot carry on the publicity work necessary to promote the interests of all unions having union labels, shop cards or buttons. What is good advertising matter for the label of one would be ineffective if used for the label of some other union. Each organization must determine for itself the character of publicity that will bring it best results. Money spent in label advertising is money well invested if the advertising campaign is kept up. It will pay to your members better interest than can be obtained for the same sum invested in any other way. This can be illustrated in no better way

than to call attention to the union labels, shop cards and buttons now in use. A slight investigation will show you that those unions that have been most liberal in their expenditures along these lines are the ones that are now reaping the greatest benefits. So I say to each of you, put forth more and more of your efforts in educating your members to the great possibilities for successful results from union label publicity. Keep everlastingly at it and victory is assured.

"Decide to do more the coming year than ever before to increase the use of the union label, shop card and button.

"Then again, members of labor organizations, even many who are enthusiastic and earnest along the lines of organization, will ask for union label goods and when it is found that they are not easily obtainable will, without further discussion, accept goods that do not bear the union label. Every time this is done it leads the retailer to believe that he will not lose the sale of any goods because he does not have those which are manufactured by union labor exclusively. Members of labor organizations, in order to be consistent, when asking for union label goods should insist upon having that class of goods or should refuse to make the purchase. A few losses of sales will make any retail dealer begin to take notice and inquire as to where he can secure the class of goods that is being asked for, and through the lack of which he is losing customers. This is one of the points that should be preached by all of the delegates to this Union Label Trades Department convention when visiting their subordinate organizations or when speaking before any organization of working men or women."

Your delegate introduced three resolutions which were unanimously adopted by the convention. No. 3 pertained to the label of our organization and No. 2 was in reference to a Union Label Tobacco Fund for the men who are fighting for Freedom and Democracy, which in my opinion will serve to the end that the organized forces of American Federation of Labor will voluntarily contribute to this fund, which will insure that the trade unionists at the front will receive union labeled tobacco and cigarettes, and would advise your local union to agitate among the Central Bodies in your vicinity to make that fund as large as possible. Also resolution No. 4 in reference to the non-union products of the Burley Society Tobacco Company and the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company, of Louisville, Ky., who have declared for the open shop. I am submitting those three resolutions for your approval.

Resolution No. 2—Introduced by A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Unino:

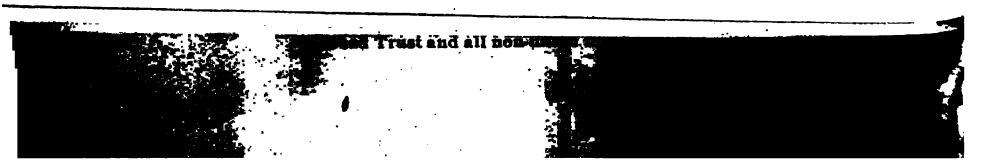
WHEREAS, The United States is at war in the defense of democratic institutions, and is mobilizing its land and naval forces in training camps in this country and abroad, and

WHEREAS, Every American is pledged to do his bit in helping to bring about the quickest, successful result, and

WHEREAS, Included in these mobilized forces are thousands of Organized Labor, who will be compelled to forego the pleasure of smoking and chewing their favorite brands of tobacco and cigaretts, unless they are supplied from private sources.

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Trust has put on a great newspaper campaign, appealing to the patriotic feelings of the soldiers' relatives and friends to send them a kit containing an assortment of tobacco and cigarettes, not through only patriotic desires, but for the purpose of increased revenue for this powerful corporation, one of the most antagonistic monopolies by which Organized Labor is opposed, and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, desiring to furnish Trade Unionists who are now serving their country in the army and navy and in cantonment camps, with tobacco and



cigarettes bearing the Union Label, have established a fund for that purpose, inviting the Trade Unionists who desire to contribute to this Patriotic Union Label Tobacco Fund, therefore be it

Resolved, That the annual convention of the Union Label Trades Department, in convention assembled in Buffalo, November 8, 1917, endorse the patriotic movement established by the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and that the International Unions, Central Bodies, Building Trades, State Federations and Federal Unions, will co-operate, through voluntary subscriptions to this fund, prove to the American people the loyalty of Organized Labor for their fellow members, who are now at the front in defense of their country, and the fundamental principles for which they are organized.

Resolution No. 3.—Introduced by A. McAndrew of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is assumed, and the assumption confirmed by statistical calculation, that the purchasing power of the organized workers of this country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of a calendar year, and

WHEREAS, The practical application of our purchasing powers as Trade Unionists has been sadly neglected through the indifferenice of the members of Organized Labor. Information gathered from the dealers is to the effect that too few Union men insistently demand products bearing the Union Label, except it be when such articles have some coupon scheme attached to them, and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union is one of the organizations that is suffering from this condition of indifference and neglect, with the result that members of our Union have been walking the streets, while those employed in the trust and non-union factories are working over-time; therefore be it

Resolved, That as the Tobacco Workers' Blue Label has for many years been exclusively advertised among all the Unions now in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, it is therefore entitled to a fuller co-operation from our fellow Trade Unionists in the demand for Union Labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; be it further

Resolved, That we, the delegates to the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 8, 1917, declare that we will use every effort through our International Unions to co-operate and assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union in creating a greater demand for Union Label tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes.

Mr. Guy D. Gold, of the Department of Labor of Washington, D. C., addressed the convention on the subject of United States Public Service Reserve, to bring together the labor forces of the country for war purposes which was intensely interesting.

Miss Anna Fitzgerald, of the Women's International Union Label League and Trades Union Auxiliary, also addressed the convention on the work accomplished by that organization for union labels, shop cards and buttons, which was also very interesting, clearly showing the work that can be accomplished by the women for Union Labeled products.

Mr. Gompers, who was a delegate, representing the Cigar Makers' International Union, also addressed the convention.

A number of other resolutions pertaining to labels of other crafts were adopted by the convention.

This convention was one of the most successful conventions ever held by the Union Label Trades Department, each and every delegate taking an active part during the proceedings, and in closing feel positive that the work of this Department during the coming year will

advance the sales of Union Labeled products to a great extent.

The officers for the coming year were elected as follows: John Hays, President, Typographical Union; Jacob Fischer, First Vice-President, Barbers' International Union; A. McAndrew, Second Vice-President, Tobacco Workers' International Union; Matthew Woll, Third Vice-President, Photo Engravers' Union; Joseph Proebstle, Fourth Vice-President, Brewery Workers' Union; G. W. Perkins, Fifth Vice-President, Cigar Makers' International Union, and J. J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer, Garment Workers' International Union.

Respectfully submitted,

A. McANDREW,

International President.

UNCLE SAM NEEDS MANY STENOGRAPHERS AND TYPEWRITERS.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Now that Uncle Sam has the young men of the country in training for military service, he finds that he needs 10,000 typewriter operators and stenographers and typewriters, both men and women, for the departments at Washington. The Civil Service Commission has notified all of its 3,000 boards of examiners that they should put forth their best efforts to secure these urgently needed workers. While examinations are now held weekly in 450 cities, the commission states that arrangements will be made to have an examination held at any accessible place where a small class of applicants can be secured. The entrance salaries range from $1,000 to $1,200 a year. Promotion is reasonably rapid to those whose services prove satisfactory. No appointments can be made to these or other positions in the Federal classified civil service unless authorized by the Civil Service Commission under the civil service law. Any information to the contrary is unauthorized. Full information may be secured from the secretary of the Board of Civil Service Examiners at the postoffice.

COURT UPHOLDS UNION

ALBANY, N. Y., October.—Judge Emory A. Chase, of the New York State Court of Appeals, has ruled that labor unions have the right to circulate, by letters or publications, requests that their members refuse to assist in the construction of buildings in which non-union made material is used, when such circulation is done solely for the benefit of the union's members.

The decision was rendered in dismissing injunctions obtained by Louis and John Bossert, non-union trim manufacturers, of Brooklyn, against the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, which restrained the brotherhood from circulating a notification to all contractors not to use non-union trim in buildings if they desired to avoid labor troubles.

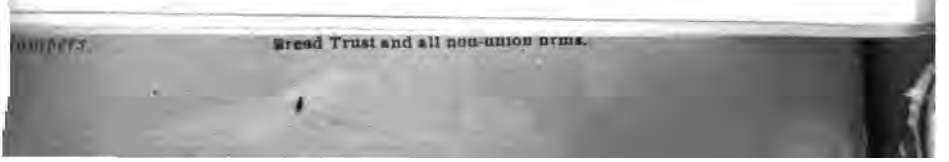
In reversing the lower courts, the Court of Appeals held that while "an act when done maliciously and for an illegal purpose may be restrained, it was not the purpose of the defendants to injure the good will or business of the plaintiffs as individuals or non-union manufacturers generally. In refusing to do work on non-union made materials the defendants were conserving their interests as individuals and members of the brotherhood."

Organized labor, as expressed in the American Federation of Labor, enjoyed the distinguished honor of having the President of the United States in attendance at the opening of its first session in Buffalo and who made the opening address. This is an honor not often, if ever, falling to the lot of one of labor's gatherings in any country. Mrs. Wilson accompanied President Wilson and sat close beside him while he delivered his address.

The President's address was as follows:

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it a great privilege



and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public councils. When your Executive Committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this above all other times in our history is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel, the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a movement more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known, a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had "a place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the Government has not laid its hands, to direct it and when necessity arose control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the

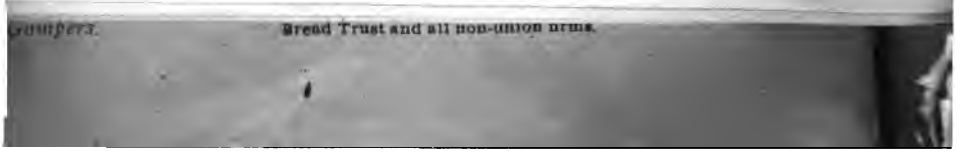
methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy from the Government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany is thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can disturb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concerted force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations came to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power, and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German Government is



compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists but their stupidity. My heart is with them but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the Government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration for his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesmanlike sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has the right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are other who do the same; and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only but from the experience of others when I say that you are more reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I haven't had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every

(*Continued on page 10*)

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Editorial.

In an article in the *Tobacco*, the Tobacco Workers and the Cigar Makers' International Unions are taken to task on the charge of attempting to get a monopoly on the tobacco sales in the army camps and navy yards, and aboard the ships of war. The article refers to a sheaf of correspondence that has passed between the Secretaries of the Navy and Army charging that these unions had persuaded President Gompers to protest against the purchase of any non-union tobacco for the soldiers and sailors, and conveys the idea that the unions hoped to get a monopoly. Speaking for the Tobacco Workers and in defense of their position in the premises, I may say, that such a hope was far from mind, as the futility of entertaining it must be patent to all who know the situation. The object of the correspondence on the subject was to try to get a look-in. We all know that with the recruiting for the army and navy, thousands of union men have enlisted, and many have expressed the wish that they could get their favorite brand of tobacco or cigarettes bearing the label. They have stated that they can get nothing else but non-union, trust-made goods in the camps and aboard ships; request for other brands was met with a more or less gentle rebuff. We took the matter up in the hope that we might have a show to get in with the goods that, at least, some of the boys wanted, and that is all we asked and hoped for.

The advertising columns of *Tobacco* are well patronized by the various brands of the trust, and the correspondent being evidently predisposed to favor the larger patronage, moved his pen along the lines that would favor the side paying the largest revenue and heightened the color of his production accordingly.

Anybody that knows anything about the situation knows that the trust has such a hold on the business that it is a moral impossibility to get it all, or any material part of it away from them, as it is jealously guarded by every means known to trustdom. Our attempt was to answer the call of those who had expressed a wish to have supplied the goods they had been accustomed to, but could not find to purchase after they entered the camps and went aboard ship.

It is a common maxim among Americans that if you want anything, the thing to do is to go after it, and with the proper effort and proper method it is forthcoming if you stick to your knitting, unless the opposition is strong enough to successfully bar the way. The opposi-

tion in this case is acknowledged to be strong, and so far has very successfully blocked the way, but whether it will always succeed is yet not proven. All the Napoleons have in time had to yield the scepter.

During the period just preceding the declaration of war on Germany, there was in the minds of some some apprehension as to the position that organized labor would take. In the minds of some, the organized labor movement seemed to be a revolutionary movement with sinister objects of accomplishment; they were not understood. When, however, the conference was called in Washington on March 12, issued to the world, a new light was placed upon labor's attitude. Some there were, however, who took an exaggerated view of the situation, entertaining the idea that labor would lose much of its legislation accomplishment, and would be too absorbed in the principle at issue to keep up its accustomed pace on legislative guardianship of its best interests. Those who followed the proceedings of the Buffalo convention saw ample reason to note their error in judgment; they had a chance to measure the ability and capacity of the organized labor movement. Not only has the movement taken care of the varied legislative matters, but it accelerated its organizing work so that its membership roll showed an increase of upward of a half a million. It did not throw a mantle of patriotism around it, wrapping itself in the flag, and then proceed to a profiteering campaign. Its effort was to maintain as nearly as possible a purchasing power balance. As the cost of living rose, increases in wages were asked, and in most cases granted. Force had at times to be brought to bear to convince some of the 100%-dividend labor exploiters that labor was entitled to the increase asked for. The horse sense that governed and guided the labor movement, kept it out of many traps that were set for it, and by it the efforts to discredit the movement in the face of this great crisis were skillfully avoided. Labor receded not from any of its stated policies for the protection of its interests in any quarter. It convinced the government that the positions it had taken were tenable, asked for nothing that was not within reason and secured most of that which it went after. It preserved with severity its patriotic guarantees to the government in its pronouncement issued on the 12th of March, and maintained its position with a dignity that befitted its position. The evident esteem in which it is held in official quarters of the government was amply manifested by the acceptance of an invitation tendered to the Chief Executive of the country to make the opening address of the convention in Buffalo, an address that was of such a stirring character that it is still ringing in the ears of its hearers.

In the early part of the summer, Local Union No. 2, of Wheeling, W. Va., negotiated a new wage scale for the ensuing year, securing a flat increase of 10% over the scale then expiring. The cost of living has, of course, been climbing up until the increase then secured has been fully absorbed. In appreciation of this state of affairs the Bloch Bros. Tobacco Company did the handsome thing of announcing recently that on and after date a 10% bonus on present earnings would take effect. This came as an agreeable surprise to the members of Local No. 2, and in expression of their appreciation of the consideration of their interests in these High-Cost-of-Living times, the announcement is herein made. How much better it is that a firm should come forward in this way when they know the condition of things, than to hold back and force their employes to go through the formality of opening up negotiations with the usual train of conferences. The granting of an increase in this way shows that the employer has

some appreciation of the conditions facing those in their employ.

The local union was under agreement with the firm for a certain stipulated wage, and only the exigencies of the condition could have impelled the union to open negotiations for new agreement. The firm did the handsome thing, anticipating the needs of the situation and came across with the needful. By so doing they have drawn to themselves an appreciation from their employes and those who otherwise know them, that could not have been gained in any other way.

President M. G. Evans, President of Lancaster County Label League, of Pennsylvania, sent us a card, entitled an "Identification Card." It is in folder shape and is calculated for all members to carry for ready reference. On one side are lines ruled for the name and address and the union to which the person belongs; on the other is a "Lest-I-forget pledge reminder," couched in the following inscription: "This is to remind me of my duty, which is to purchase and encourage the sale of goods bearing the Union Label." The idea is good, and might be adopted by all unions, for its members to carry as a pocket reminder of the duty they owe to themselves, as well as the cause.

The Lancaster County Label League is to be congratulated on their progressive policy in keeping the fires of label agitation brightly burning, an example that could well be followed by many others whose fires need more fuel.

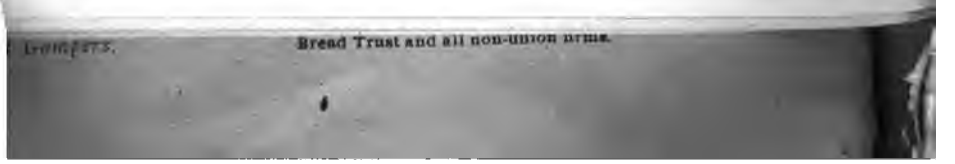
"Labor," the capital of the laborer, was never intended to be a commodity. If it were the laborer would be little more than a beast of burden and subject to commercial transaction as are the beasts of burden as we now know them. Such a conception contemplates the slavery that cost so much blood in this country to abolish. Such a conception must be most repugnant to divine law as we have it, and should have no place in the human law, trusts and predatory wealth to the contrary notwithstanding.

Capital is the result of the labor of the whole past human race. Is the created more sacred than the element that created it? Labor has created all the world's wealth. Is it reasonable then to conceive that, because the wealth created has—by selfish and predatory means—found its way into the hands of a selfish few, that that selfish few should take unto themselves the right to place in bondage those who are the creators of the power they have been robbed of?

(*Continued from page 7.*)

instance that the parties come into each others presence and there discuss between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of the past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you know So and So." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't h-h-hate a m-m-man I know." There is a great deal of human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious matters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all



other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands, and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purpose as much as any man, but I respect the ancient process of justice, and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to co-operate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to co-operate, and that fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on; I mean now on the part of the employers, and we must interject into this same instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all 'round. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary, have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow-citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being wth me is not to think about me personally at all but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

The fact that the country is engaged in war furnishes no excuse to union men for failure to demand the union label on all purchases. In fact, it should act as an incentive to increase the demand. Every demand strengthens organized labor and every failure weakens the movement. Which way are you pulling?

UNION INACTIVITY COSTLY.

The item below quoted is not a new story. The same thing has happened before to members of other unions who, after securing what they wanted, lapsed into "innocuous desuetude," and while in an impotent state had one put over on them. This is an evidence that, planting the seed in the garden is not all there is to getting a crop; if we go to sleep on the job the weeds will grow and smother out the growth of the seeds planted. Vigilance is the price of success in anything and the interests of our Union and in turn our own are no exception to the rule. There is a lesson in this case worth fixing under our hats.—ED.

TACOMA, WASH., Dec 8.—Machinists employed in Tacoma garages are paying a costly price for union inactivity. A short time ago they discussed organization, but employers checked this movement by granting the eight-hour day. The machinists were elated over their gain and dropped union agitation. They said a union wasn't necessary.

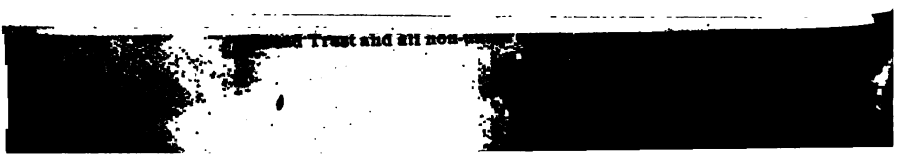
Now the employers have established the 10-hour day.

The following is published in this issue for the benefit of those of us who may come under its provisions. It will be seen that it applies alike to the whole of our jurisdiction except Canada. There are many, we are sorry to say, who will not be affected by it, but the information contained in it may be useful to all of us at one time or another. Those who it affects will do well to give it the consideration it commands.—ED.

LOUISVILLE, KY., Dec. 11, 1917.—You won't have to figure out your income tax all by yourself hereafter. The Government is going to send out men to help you. It will be up to you to hunt up these men, who will be sent into every county-seat town, and some other towns besides, to meet the people. Postmasters, bankers and newspapers will be able to tell you when the Government's income-tax man will be around, and where to find him. He will answer your questions, swear you to the return, take your money, and remove the wrinkles from your brow. Returns of income for 1917 must be made between January 1 and March 1, 1918.

"The Government recognizes." Collector of Internal Revenue T. Scott Mayes said today, "that many persons experience a good deal of difficulty in filling out income-tax forms. It recognizes, too, that taxpayers resident at points where Collectors' offices are not easily accessible, find it hard to get proper instruction in the law. Next year, when every married person living with wife or husband and having a net income of $2,000, and every unmarried person not the head of a family and having a net income of $1,000 for the year 1917, must make return of income on the form prescribed, there will be hundreds in every community seeking light on the law, and help in executing their returns. My own and every other Collection district in the nation will be divided into districts, with the county as the unit, and a Government officer informed in the income tax assigned to each district. He will spend hardly less than a week in each county, and in some counties a longer time, very likely in the courthouse at the county-seat town. In cities where there are Collector's branch offices, he will be there, and in other cities possibly at the city at the city hall. My office will in due time advise postmasters and bankers and send out notices to the newspapers stating when the officer will be in each county. It will be unnecessary for prospective taxpayers to ask my office for forms on which to make returns. The officer who visits their county will have them.

"It may be stated, as a matter of general information, that 'net income' is the remainder after subtracting expenses from gross income. Personal, family, or living expense is not expense in the



meaning of the law, the exemption being allowed to cover such expenses.

"The new exemptions of $1,000 and $2,000 will add tens of thousands to the number of income taxpayers in this district inasmuch as practically every farmer, merchant, tradesman, professional man and salary worker, and a great many wage workers, will be required to make return and pay tax.

"The law makes it the duty of the taxpayer to seek out the Collector. Many people assume that, if an income-tax form is not sent, or a Government official does not call, they are relieved from making report. This is decidedly in error. It is the other way round. The taxpayer has to go to the Government and, if he doesn't within the time prescribed, he is a violator of the law, and the Government will go to him with its penalties.

"If returns are not made between January 1 and March 1, 1918, the delinquent violates the law and penalties will be imposed."

T. SCOTT MAYES, *Collector.*

The nine branches of the trustified interests in the tobacco industry present an array of dividends for the last quarter ending this year that suggests the question, from where did it come, and who among us helped the most to make these dividends possible?

When the hundreds of millions of capital, water and all, are considered, some idea of the number of 5 cents and 10 cents that have been taken in over the counters of the retail dealers to satisfy this dividend declaration can be had.

Another question that asserts itself is, how much union-earned money went to swell this tidal flow?

United Cigar Stores Company—Has declared the quarterly dividend of 1¾ per cent. on preferred stock, payable December 15th.

Tobacco Products Corporation—Has declared the quarterly dividend of 1¾ per cent. on the preferred stock, payable January 2nd.

American Cigar Company—Has declared the quarterly dividends of 1½ per cent. on the preferred stock, payable January 2nd.

American Tobacco Company—Has declared the quarterly dividend of 1½ per cent. on the preferred stock, payable Januray 2nd.

American Snuff Company—Has declared the quarterly dividend of 2 per cent. on the common stock and 1½ per cent. on the preferred stock, both payable January 2nd.

P. Lorillard Company—Has declared the quarterly dividends of 3 per cent. on the common stock and 1¾ per cent. on preferred stock, both payable January 2nd.

Weyman-Bruton Company—Have declared the quarterly dividends of 3 per cent. and 1¾ per cent. on the common stock, also the extra dividend of 2 per cent., all payable January 2nd.

R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company—Have declared the quarterly dividends of 1¾ per cent. on preferred stock and 2 per cent. on the common stock, also an extra dividend of 2 per cent., all payable January 1st.

Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company—Have declared a quarterly dividend of 3 per cent. on the common stock, payable December 10th; also the quarterly dividend of 1¾ per cent. on the preferred stock, payable January 1st.

WAGES CUT IN AKRON.

AKRON, OHIO, Nov. 3.—Trade union agitation in this city has increased since wages of rubber workers in one factory have been cut 36½ per cent. The day shift in the stackers' department was paid $25 per hundred and was reduced to $16, a cut of 36 per cent., exclusive of the loss of a bonus, which was 10 per

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A trust does not bring efficiency to the aid of business. It buys efficiency out of business.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

WOMEN EXPLOITED BY WAR PROFITEERS.

NEW YORK, October.—Writing in a local newspaper, a correspondent states that in this city of 6,000,000 population there were less than 39,000 men drafted, and that there are still thousands of workers unemployed, despite the cry of 'labor shortage.'

"And yet," continues the writer, "we see women running elevators, soldering in factories, acting as messengers and used in other places where they can be hired cheaper than men and used for sensational advertising.

"I know of one factory that discharged 150 men, not one of whom had been drafted, and put women in their places, giving them from $3 to $4 a week less than they did the men, and then crying, 'The war has taken our men!'

"A big department store that never had any kind of workers on its elevators but colored men now has young women. Surely all the young colored men have not been drafted, and even if they were there are hundreds of elderly men who would be glad to get this kind of work.

"This cry of women taking the places of men is to a great extent just a cheap, unpatriotic way of advertising and getting an underpaid class under the cry of 'necessity.' It is attracting hundreds of unskilled women to the city, where there is no remunerative employment for them, and keeps the ignorant, unthinking person excited over the thought that all our manhood is drafted or about to be."

A principle in the economy of our lives must be established, and that is a living wage, below which the wage-workers should not permit themselves to be driven. The living wage must be the first consideration either in the cost or sale of an article, the product of labor.

Named Shoes are frequently made in Non-Union Factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

No matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this Union Stamp.

BOOT & SHOE WORKERS UNION
UNION STAMP
Factory

All Shoes without the Union Stamp are always Non-Union.

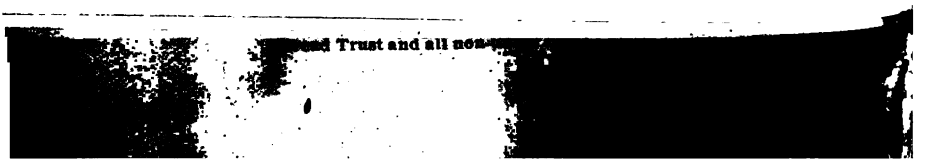
Do not accept any excuse for absence of the Union Stamp.

JOHN F. TOBIN
President

CHAS. L. BAINE
Sec'y-Treas.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union

246 SUMMER STREET BOSTON, MASS.



RAISE WAGES, AND DUES

Carpenters' Union No. 483, of San Francisco, are making hay while the sun shines and the going it good, storing up capital for future days when the reconstruction days that are coming will have more lean than fat days. What an example to follow—one that all other unions who are placed in similar position should follow in preparation for rainy days that are sure to follow the sunshiny ones.—Ed.

San Francisco, Dec. 8.—Although contractors have indorsed the new wage scale of $6 a day, members of Carpenters' Union No. 483 are taking no chances on weakening their organization, and have raised their monthly dues from $1 to $1.25.

FIGHTING A BLACKLIST.

Newark, N. J., October.—Organized machinists are conducting a publicity campaign in the daily press against a blacklist system of the Manufacturers' Association. The unionists best explain the workings of this system by republishing a letter from the association to Newark employers, which says:

"It will be desirable that you keep us constantly informed about those employed whom you hire or lose from any cause. Do this in the most convenient way to you—but let us have the information.

"When your list is complete will you check off the number of employes of each kind on the enclosed form and return also? This latter schedule is to serve as a basis for mutual agreement between this association and the National Metal Trades Association.

"This is a protective measure for you since it enables the bureau to keep track of employes who are not permanent or otherwise unsatisfactory.

"We will not only appreciate your prompt assistance, but the association will profit thereby immediately."

THE BEST.

It may be your rival is better than you,
And can do what you've never been able to do.
Perhaps it's a tough proposition you've got,
And the road will be rough, and the pace will be hot;
But the champions fall and the young fellows rise,
And the game isn't settled by yesterday's prize,
With nerves that are steady and cool, buckle in,
Make the other man play to his limit to win.

The scoffers may say that you haven't a chance.
They may wager their gold on the other man's lance,
They may dwell on the skill that your rival has shown,
For the things he can do have been often made known;
But yesterday's prowess will drop by the way
For a stronger and sturdier courage today.
So go to the battle and stand to the test
To beat you compel him to play to his best.

Don't acknowledge defeat ere the contest begins.
Don't give up the fight till the other man wins.
If he really is better than you, it will show,
Don't take it for granted. It may not be so.
If at last you are beaten there's joy in the thought
As you come from the field that your fight was well fought,
And victory frequently lights on the crest
Of the youth who won't bow down to less than the best.

Remember To Look For
The Little Blue Label

BENEFITS FOR SUB VICTIM.

TRENTON, N. J.—The Court of Error and Appeals has ruled that the widow of a salesman who lost his life when the Lusitania was destroyed by a German submarine is entitled to benefits under the State compensation law.

The salesman was employed by the Home Rubber Company of this city and was on his way to Europe in the interest of his employers. His widow sued for benefits under the compensation law, but the lower court denied the plea on the ground that the salesman did not meet his death "through a cause arising out of and in the course of his employment." The Supreme Court reversed this decision and the company appealed to the court of last resort in this state, only to be defeated again. The latter court ordered the case sent back to the first court and there disposed of as other cases under the compensation law.

In Memoriam.

WHEREAS, It has pleased our Supreme Ruler who knoweth all things best and doeth all things well to remove from our midst our Sister member, Miss Tillie Brown. We mourn her loss and humbly submit our pleasure to the will of Him who can but do well; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the officers and members of Local No. 2, extend our deepest and sincere regret to the family, not to mention our own loss of our Sister member, Miss Tillie Brown; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the bereaved family of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Brown, a copy be sent to the International Headquarters for publication in our monthly journal, and a copy be spread upon the minutes of our next meeting, and that our charter of Local No. 2 be draped in mourning for a period of thirty days.

(Committee) MISS PAULINE YOUNG,
MR. FRANCIS HUNGERMAN,
MR. WM. G. BLUM.

PLENTY OF FOOD STORED.

HARRISBURG, PA.—September reports of cold storage warehouses to the State Department of Agriculture would indicate that there is plenty of food in this state—if the people can reach it. Last month these warehouses held 14,367,202 dozen eggs. This is 2,000,000 dozen more than was held in September of last year. Butter holdings have increased to 10,923,322 pounds, as compared with 9,555,966 pounds during the same period last year. Three months ago there were but 4,173,846 pounds in storage.

Fish holdings show a total of 4,000,653 pounds as compared with 1,598,265 pounds last June.

Of beef carcasses there were 226,391 pounds as against 64,953 in 1916.

WASHINGTON.—Eighty per cent. more frozen beef was in stock on Oct. 1 than a year ago.

Reports from 293 storages to the government show holdings of 137,806,561 pounds. Stocks of cured beef amounted to 32,644,559 pounds on the same date, an increase of 46.4 per cent., while a decrease of 3.6 per cent. in the amount of lamb and mutton in storage was shown, the stock totaling 3,221,234 pounds. Small decreases were also reported for dry salt and pickled pork and lard, but frozen pork increased 12 per cent.

WANTED: TOBACCO WORKERS

to purchase bread only which bears

THIS International Union Made **LABEL**

It is the only weapon the bakery workers have which aids them in securing living wages, reasonable working hours, and decent and sanitary working conditions. Bread which does not bear the above label is TRUST-made, non-union and perhaps SCAB-made. Refuse to buy bread without this label, and thereby aid the bakery workers in their struggle against the Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

npers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.

Jobson Printing Company

INCORPORATED

Printers of **The Tobacco Worker**

647 West Hill Street — Louisville, Ky.

JUST A WORD

REMEMBER THE

Little Blue Label

"FRISHMUTH'S ORIGINAL"

UNION MADE

Coupons in Every Package

Send for sample

Is the UNION LABEL on Your Tobacco?

PENN TOBACCO

Is UNION MADE

BEST QUALITY PRESENTS

PENN TOBACCO CO.
WILKES BARRE, PA.

SOME OF OUR BRANDS

Penn's Stripped	Sterling
" Extra	Peace
" Long Cut	Scrap

DEMAND THE

UNION LABEL

WHEN PURCHASING

TOBACCO, CIGARETTES OR SNUFF

THE OLD RELIABLE WIGWAM TOBACCO

Highest Quality

Smoking and Chewing

YEARS OF SATISFACTION

...mpers. Bread Trust and all non-union firms.